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THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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B.P.P. Statement On The Conviction Of Johnny Larry Spain

"S.Q. 6 JURY COLLABORATORS IN ASSASSINATION OF GEORGE JACKSON"





Black Panther Party Field Marshal GEORGE JACKSON (right) was assassinated on August 21, 1971, the result of a state conspiracy to destroy the revolutionary prison movement. Almost five years later BPP member and San Quentin 6 defendant JOHNNY SPAIN became another victim of this plot when he was falsely convicted on two counts of murder.

The following statement on the conviction of Johnny Larry Spain in the San Quentin 6 trial was issued by the Black Panther Party on August 12.

"The decision of the jury in the San Quentin Six case today reflected the impossibility of a Black person or, more, a member of the Black Panther Party to receive a fair trial in this country. Specifically, the harshest verdict, the conviction on two counts of first degree murder, was singly handed down to the only defendant who is a Black Panther Party member, Johnny Larry Spain. The only reasonable verdict for any or all of the defendants should have been not guilty. This nearly all-White, Marin County jury merely traded one life for others to create the semblance of justice for the record.

"The Black Panther Party denounces this verdict for it defies real and total justice, while implicating indirectly another of our comrades, who was outright assassinated on that August 21, 1971—George Jackson. The jury, by finding any defendant guilty, have become collaborators in the events of that day, which events included the government assassination of George Jackson, for clearly not one shred of evidence was ever presented to support a guilty verdict for any defendant. Johnny Spain was convicted of guilt by association, association with a friend, George Jackson, and with an organization, the Black Panther Party.

"Ultimately he will be free, one way or

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EdiTORiAL

"NOT TRUE JUSTICE" EQUALS INJUSTICE

When all is said and done, was the verdict in the San Quentin 6 trial anymore than what we really expected, seriously expected, without the illusions of hope that always accompany the long wait?

Injustice has been the order of the day every since that fateful afternoon on August 21, 1971 — as it was long before then. Or else why was George Jackson, in his 11th year in prison for a $70 gas station robbery, allegedly committed when he was 18?

Since our inception, the Black Panther Party has championed ideas of a transformation of the judicial system to a court system controlled by the people and a trial by a jury of peers. Needless to say, advances have been made. But stringent security measures at the San Quentin 6 trial — including the loathsome, vision-distorting plexiglass wall which separated supporters from the actual courtroom — and especially the dehumanizing chaining and shackling of five of the six defendants, negated any concept of community control. Certainly the jury was no peer group for the Black and Brown prison activists on trial.

And so, abandoning all principles — as well as all evidence — the jury's compromise verdict creates a "semblance of justice for the record," denying "real and total justice" in a macabre sacrifice of the still warm and very much alive body of Johnny Larry Spain for the cold corpses of men who died five years ago. An inhuman trade. A barbarous act of retribution and retaliation.

And what of the assassination of the brilliant George Lester Jackson; "Comrade George" to the millions upon millions who followed his example and painstakingly read his every word. How long must the lie be perpetuated? When will the cover-up end?

Thrust upon the historical moment, the jury in the San Quentin 6 trial backed down, viciously, in their way adding another lock to the chains that bind us all. □



NEXT TO MY BRAND OF CONSERVATISM, Y'ALL LOOK LIKE RADICALS.

Letters to the Editor

INMATE WANTS SUBSCRIPTION

Dear Sirs:

My name is John Walls, #67909, and I am an inmate at the Auburn Correctional Facility. I have been fortunate enough to have had some issues of your publication passed on to me. I would like to state here and now that your paper is very informative and is a must for everyone to read. With all the drawbacks prisons has, it can be used for a place to get an eyeful and earful of what is going on around us. This is something a lot of us didn't do in the streets. This is where a lot of our leaders will come from for the continuous struggle in America.

I would like to be a regular recipient of your newspaper, but I lack the financial capability to pay for a subscription. I would appreciate it if you would put me on your mailing list.

Yours in the struggle,
John Walls
Auburn Correctional Facility
Auburn, N.Y. 13021

GREETINGS FROM GAMBIA

Dear Sir,

I am hereby kindly sending my greetings to your Central Distribution. I am a boy 20 years old and burn in the Gambia both by birth and nationality, and I have successfully completed my education in a junior secondary school at Zanfeel, the capital city of Gambia.

Sir, after my school career, I was so lucky to have employment with a company, and there I have come across one of your news bulletins with one of my friends. I was very satisfied with and appreciative of the contents of the news. From him I learned the address of this center so that I can have more of your ideas and feelings, "to know what is suffering us in our environment," to know myself and where I am living and in which way we are as far as humanity is concerned in this world.

Sir, I am now growing up to take a place in this world and will be a great responsibility owner in a few years to come. I want to be a fair ruler, but I cannot be fair until and unless I know the goods and bads and know the quality of people and nations so I will be able to find my way towards people or nations.

Thanks.

Yours faithfully,
Iamin Jaitel
Republic of Gambia

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COMMENT

For The "Movement"

By Jonathan Kozol

The following Comment is adapted from a speech given by Jonathan Kozol on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., on July 4, 1976, as part of a rally sponsored by the People's Bicentennial Commission. Kozol is the author of the critically acclaimed Death at an Early Age, *a shocking account of miseducation in the Boston school system.*

Many young people in the last few years have started to accept a quite persuasive, but extremely dangerous, idea — one that many people in the right wing of this country dearly hope they will believe. This is the idea that something very special, once known as the "Movement," is all over.

There are at least three points about this issue that should be restated loud and clear:

The "Movement," first of all — whatever news reports might seem to say — is not something that "began," like a mushroom popping up after a rainstorm, one day back in 1960 or in 1963 and ended on a warm spring day in 1972 when Richard Nixon told us it was time to give up our conscience and go back to class.

The whole idea of social struggle, whether it is called a "rent strike," "protest action," "student boycott," "union battle" or full-fledged "rebellion," started long before the 1960s.

Few of us ever got a chance in public school to hear about the major labor-union battles of the early 1900s. Few students ever hear about the genuine labor leaders of the working poor. Fewer, still, ever have the opportunity to read about the first authentic grassroots labor movement in the United States — the I.W.W. — or "the Wobblies."

All the better reason, then, that we establish, here and now, that what some people call the "Movement" is not something that began, ten, twelve or fifteen years ago and died of weariness in 1972.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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BPINS photo

Volunteer conducts voter registration at Las Vegas block party.

Las Vegas Coalition Sponsors Voter Registration

(Las Vegas, Nev.) — Over 400 Black people turned out for a recent Voter Registration Block Party held here recently under the sponsorship of a local coalition, including community activist Katherine Joseph, Bold Explosion, the A. Philip Randolph Organization and the Las Vegas Branch of the Black Panther Party.

The main purpose of the event was not only to register Black people to vote, stated a Coalition spokesperson, but also to demonstrate how Blacks can use their vote in a meaningful, unified way.

The afternoon's festivities began as "10 feet Under," followed by one of Las Vegas' best soul groups, "Stone Gumbo," put everyone in the right mood with their driving music. When the two bands took a break, various Black candidates for political offices were given an opportunity to speak.

Among the candidates (for various districts in the Nevada State Senate) who spoke were: Rev. Albert Dunn; Bob Bailey; Joe Neal; Marion Bennett; Crawford Crawford; and Louis Chaney. During the whole time the bands were playing and the candidates were speaking, volunteers sifted through the crowd, urging people to register to vote.

Black Municipal Court Judge Moon Mullen also spoke before the crowd and stated that he was very impressed to see such an event take place in the Black community. He urged everyone to stick together as one Black community when they voted.☐

SAN ANTONIO TENANTS' UNION PICKETS H.U.D.

(San Francisco, Calif.) — Buoyed by high spirits and chanting, "We want decent housing" and, "Let the roaches pay the rent," over 125 residents of the San Antonio Housing Projects, young and old, demonstrated last Thursday in front of the downtown San Francisco offices of the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

A contingent of demonstrators, led by Bessie Thomas, co-president of the San Antonio Tenants' Union, angrily confronted HUD officials in a stormy 30-minute session up on the ninth floor.

Villa residents arrived at One Embarcadero Center, site for the demonstration, around 3:00 p.m., and within minutes seemingly all of downtown San Francisco knew that something was "rotten" in the city of Oakland — and that folks were upset about it.

Joining the demonstrators soon after their arrival—by bus, van and car—was Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party. Elaine, who has been a strong supporter of San Antonio Villa residents from the beginning of their struggle, immediately became an enthusiastic participant in the community picket line, later going upstairs to support the residents in thier meeting with HUD.

With their strong-voiced chants resounding off the walls, the



BPINS photo

Over 125 San Antonio Villa residents picketed for decent housing last week at the San Francisco offices of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

determined Villa residents carried high the brightly-colored, homemade picket signs, which clearly spelled out the Tenants' Union's demands:

- "We Demand a HUD Inspection of San Antonio";
- "No Rent Increase";
- "What Happened to the $165,000 for Modernization?"
- "We Demand Better Maintenance."

The loud, spirited chanting even attracted several passersby to join the demonstrators, with an occasional car or two honking their horns in support.

As the demonstrations continued their tight-knit circle at the building's entrances, Mrs. Thomas, prior to going upstairs, spoke with the assembled media, distributing copies of the Tenants' Union statement: The statement read, in part:

"We, the San Antonio Tenants' Union, demand that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) exert all necessary and proper pressure—including the use of reasonable sanctions—upon the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) to force that agency to provide and maintain decent, safe and sanitary public housing facilities in San Antonio Villa, as required by city, state and federal law.

"In this regard, we demand that HUD conduct an on-site inspection at San Antonio Villa as soon as possible in order to determine the total extent of the violations. Telephone conversations between representatives of the Tenants' Union and HUD officials have already established that (1) HUD is aware of housing code violations in San Antonio Villa for the last three years..."

PROBLEM AREAS

Following a partial listing of serious problem areas in need of immediate correction—emphasizing a fully-equipped neighborhood center and other recreational activities—the statement continues:

"Since January 1, 1975, HUD has given the Oakland Housing Authority several million dollars in funds for so-called maintenance and modernization with at least $165,000 allocated for San Antonio. We ask that HUD

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FALLEN COMRADE

GEORGE LESTER JACKSON

Assassinated: August 21, 1971



"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor, half-butchered lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people."

GEORGE JACKSON LIVES!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ERICKA HUGGINS VISITS NORTH COUNTY FACILITY

YOUTH DISPUTE OFFICIALS ON LIFE IN JUVENILE PROBATION DEPARTMENT

(Oakland, Calif.) - Continuing her efforts to insure that the predominantly Black and poor youth incarcerated in county juvenile detention facilities receive quality education, Ms. Ericka Huggins, a member of the Alameda County Board of Education, last week toured the facilities of the county's Juvenile Probation Department (JPD), located at 400 Broadway.

The 50-unit JPD is an "intake" facility where north Alameda County (Oakland, Berkeley and Albany) boys between the ages of 10 and 18 are initially detained prior to appearing in juvenile court. Youth may be incarcerated in the JPD for a variety of reasons — including being committed by their parents, running away from home because of family problems, drinking, alcohol, using drugs or felony charges.

JUVENILE JUDGE

Pending a decision by the juvenile court judge — the court and the JPD are located in the same building — the youth are then either released to their families, to an approved foster home family or sent to Juvenile Hall or Los Cerros Senior Boys Camp, two of the five facilities that comprise the county's juvenile detention complex in San Leandro. Ericka, who serves as director of the Oakland Community School (OCS), visited the complex one month ago.

Officials that conducted the tour of Ericka and OCS staff members accompanying her said that boys who come to the JPD are released within 48 hours after their arrival. Under the provisions of the California Youth Authority's (CYA) *Standards of Juvenile Halls*, "After a minor has been placed in juvenile hall, unless a petition is filed within 48 hours, excluding nonjudicial (weekends and holidays) days, the minor must be released."

If the petition is filed within 48 hours, the minor must appear before the juvenile court no later than the next judicial day after his incarceration.

Upon talking with some of the youth, Ericka and OCS staff learned that one of them, who was charged with murder, had been in JPD for five days and was waiting to be shipped to the CYA in Sacramento for imprisonment. Another boy said he had been in custody for 72 hours and didn't know when he was going to get out.



BPINS photo

Alameda (North) County Juvenile Probation Center in downtown Oakland, provides no classes for the boys, ages 10 to 18, who are incarcerated here.

Officials later admitted that the youth who come through "intake" can be detained longer than 48 hours if a judge orders it or if an individual youth waives his court appearance.

One of Erikca's primary concerns is the lack of educational facilities provided for the boys held in JPD. Officials explained that no classes are provided because of the quick turnover of the youth. However, under CYA provisions' one of the basic functions of a juvenile hall is "constructive individual and group activities, including a well-balanced school program."

Officials went on to say that the boys remain out of their cells all day except for the hour of 3:30-4:30 p.m. when those who need it receive medication. Again, the youth disputed the officials. Ericka and OCA staff learned that the boys remain on lock-up all day except for meals and during the one-hour visiting period of 2:30-3:30 p.m.

The youth revealed that last Tuesday, the day of Ericka's visit, they had to get up early in order to mop and wax the floor in the recreation room where they were sitting watching television and playing dominoes and cards when the tour was conducted. One young brother said that the long periods of confinement in their

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O.C.L.C. Forum Features "Summer Disco"

(Oakland, Calif.) — "A Summer Disco" for teens was featured last week at the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) Sunday Forum. The OCLC cafeteria was full of lively teens dancing to the tunes of "Soul Construction."

One of the highlights of the afternoon was a dance contest in which couples were able to really "strut their stuff" as "Soul Construction" laid down some tunes from the "Funkadelics," the "Parliament" and the "Black Byrds."

BPINS photo

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

August 20, 1944

On August 20, 1944, the famous play *Anna Lucasta*, starring Black performers Hilda Sims and Frederick O'Neal, opened on Broadway.

August 19, 1958

Members of the NAACP Youth Council began a series of sit-ins at Oklahoma City lunch counters on August 19, 1958. The sit-in movement helped to ignite the flames of Black protest across the country, culminating in the modern civil rights movement.

August 16, 1969

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) officially ended its long period of mourning for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and re-elected Rev. Ralph Abernathy as its president on August 16, 1969, at the SCLC's 12th annual convention in Charleston, South Carolina.

August 21, 1971

Famed Black woman tennis player Althea Gibson Darden, former winner of the U.S. and Wimbledon championships, was among four persons elected to the National Lawn Tennis Hall of Fame in Newport, Rhode Island, on August 21, 1971.

August 16, 1972

On August 16, 1972, Rev. Philip A. Potter, a Black Methodist from the West Indian island of Dominica, was named general secretary of the World Council of Churches. Rev. Potter had been director of the Council's Commission on World Mission and Evangelism. At that time, the group also agreed to sever connections with banks that "maintain direct banking operations in Rhodesia, South Africa and the then Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

WHITE POLICEMAN CLEARED IN BEATING OF FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD

RICHMOND COMMITTEE AGAINST POLICE ABUSE FORMED

(Richmond, Calif.) - Black residents here last week formed a Committee Against Police Abuse in an effort to overcome the insensitivity of city officials and to obtain justice for victims of brutality at the hands of the Richmond Police Department.

Last Friday's session at Easter Hill Methodist Church was the second of such meetings spurred by the fact that White policeman James Breuner was "cleared" by an internal police investigation for his inhumane treatment of 15-year-old Donyale McCollins.

Ms. McCollins was arrested at the Richmond Plunge last month where, without any concrete reason, she was beaten, kicked, choked and stomped by police as well as by two lifeguards who were on duty.

At a meeting between Robert McCollins, Donyale's father, supporters of the McCollins' family, and officials from the Parks and Recreation Department, the two lifeguards involved in the incident were fired. Yet, upon further investigation, it was learned that the two men, who initiated the violence against Donyale, were still working at the public swimming pool.

SEVERELY BEATEN

It was also revealed at the meeting that Breuner severely beat another, as yet unidentified, Black woman just a few days after the incident at the Richmond Plunge. After knocking the woman down and repeatedly punching her in the face, the White cop sprayed mace directly into her face as her husband, who had been beaten with a blackjack by police earlier, stood by helpless and dazed.

One of the witnesses to the incident, Rev. Soloman, said that it "was past the point of an arrest. It was a personal attack." He commented that Breuner "was very immature and unqualified" to be a police officer.

Rev. Soloman pointed out that police on the scene refused to answer the questions of Black witnesses, even going to the point of shoving the pastor of a nearby church, who had come to investigate. However, Rev. Soloman stated, the police were very eager to answer the questions of White passers-by.

Rev. Soloman then pledged to secure the support of the Richmond Ministerial Alliance in an effort to get Breuner dismissed from the Richmond police force, even if the issue "has to go all the way to Governor Jerry Brown's office."

McCollins explained to those in attendance that he had gone through all of the official channels in the city and has received no justice for his daughter, who is scheduled to go to court on October 5 on charges of resisting arrest and disobeying a police officer.

McCollins told of how police authorities admitted that Breuner used excessive force against his daughter but claimed that the White officer was still within his rights. "In the Black community

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BPINS photo

Residents of the Richmond, California, Black community met last week to discuss ways to combat police abuse, and obtain justice for DONYALE McCOLLINS (inset).



Sheriff Supporters Receive "Target" Drawing

(Chicago, Ill.) - This near life-size drawing (above), used for target practice at gun ranges, was among the free items passed out to the mostly White participants at a recent golf outing sponsored by the Citizens Committee for (Cook County) Sheriff Richard Elrod.

According to the Chicago Metro News, *the bags were only passed out to Whites until a Black guest caught sight of the racially inflammatory drawing in one of the bags. Upon insisting that he receive a bag, he found that all the bags contained this "target" — which is strongly reminiscent of Mayor Richard Daley's directive given to police at the time of the 1968 Democratic National Convention to "shoot-to-kill all firebombers" and "shoot-to-maim all looters."*

BUREAU CRIMES

Kelley Orders Shake-Up In F.B.I. Hierarchy

(Washington, D.C.) - Embattled FBI Director Clarence Kelley, under fire as revelations of widespread criminal misconduct by Bureau officials and agents continue to grow, last week announced the most extensive reorganization of the law enforcement agency since the start of World War II.

Kelley announced the restructuring of the FBI in a press conference held here on August 12. Among the changes discussed by the FBI chief were:

•The creation of a professional responsibility section within the Bureau to conduct future investigations of wrongdoing by FBI agents and executives. One FBI observer noted that this action marked the first time the Bureau has made any attempt to form an independent unit to deal with misconduct by its employees.

•Investigations of domestic "radical" and "terrorist" organizations is being transferred from the FBI Intelligence Division to its General Investigations Branch. In this way, incidents involving these organizations will be treated "like all other criminal cases in that division," Kelley explained.

•An internal review will be launched of FBI policies regarding the use of paid and unpaid informants to gather information in criminal and domestic security cases.

•The Bureau's Inspection Division, long an independent power center in the FBI hierarchy, will be merged with the management-oriented office of Planning and Evaluation.

"BLACK BAG" JOBS

Kelley's efforts to improve the badly tarnished image of the FBI comes at a time when the Justice Department is investigating illegal burglaries of FBI agents — known as "black bag" jobs — and misappropriation of funds by top officials in the Bureau. The Bureau is one of the defendants in a $37 million lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which charges that the FBI harassed its members and used illegal methods for spying and gathering information on the party.

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"DON'T LAY DOWN YOUR BURDEN"

CHICAGO "SURVIVAL DAY" FESTIVITIES ATTRACT 1,000

(Chicago, Ill.) - When the "helping hand" of the power structure is kept out, the community can solve its own problems — that was the lesson of the July 24 Survival Day held in Uptown on the Sunnyside Mall.

Eight hours of good food, exciting entertainment, informative speakers, blood pressure screening and other effective survival booths combined with an enthusiastic and unified community atmosphere brought a steady stream of over 1,000 people to what is known as Uptown's "most troubled area."

Although not one single day has passed in the last five months when police were not on the Mall stopping people, searching people, arresting people or chasing people every two or three hours, Survival Day proceeded without a single problem or incident, perhaps to the disappointment of Commander Hanley and his 23rd District police.

The intense community unity was achieved mainly through the youth of the neighborhood who banded together from different groups such as the Gaylords and the Kings to solve the many frictions that the city's policy of moving people forcibly from one neighborhood to another have caused.

NEIGHBORHOOD BROTHERS

An efficient and effective core of the neighborhood brothers worked throughout the day to "defend the community" and ensure the kind of enjoyment and unity our people have a right to.

Jack Hart, a leading member of the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) was the well- organized program's emcee for the day. He introduced many community speakers who explained the steps forward that have been made in this community's fight for survival.

Joan Wallace explained both the mechanics and the savings involved in the rapidly growing Food Co-op. Chicago Area Black Lung Association chairman Lawrence Zornes presented a ten-foot mural depicting the struggle in the mines, done by amazingly talented 11-year-old Pansy Branham. In describing CABLA's fight for miners stricken with the deadly disease, and for their families, Zornes struck a somber but angry tone when telling of two new members of the association who had died of black lung



BPINS photo

Over 1,000 Uptown Chicago residents turned out for a very successful "Survival Day" sponsored by the progressive Intercommunal Survival Committee.

after being denied benefits by the coal operator-controlled bureaucracy in Washington.

Speakers detailed the steady stream of victories achieved by the Uptown Tenants Survival Union, along with the legal defense and welfare 'defense programs of the 46th Ward Community Service Center.

Six hundred lunches had been provided earlier in the day by the Uptown Tenants Survival Union Free Lunch Program, which operates each weekday during the summer, providing lunches for 1,000 children at three neighborhood sites. After the band had finished playing and as the crowd was lining up for the hundreds of fried chicken dinners, Jack Hart introduced the last speaker of the day, ISC coordinator Slim Coleman.

Slim began by pointing to the absence of police cars drag racing across the Mall and asked the crowd to show their appreciation to the youth of the community who had brought peace and unity. After touching again on the success of the survival programs and calling for even more community participation, the ISC coordinator asked that "we become watchful and prepare ourselves for something that is coming up in the next few months.

"The Democratic Convention that nominated 'Peanuts' Carter for President," he went on, "is going to have something to do with us, even though we weren't represented there. Pretty soon the captains are going to be coming around here telling us that 'Peanuts' Carter was sent from heaven to solve all of our problems: 'If you vote for Peanuts,' they will say, 'you can lay your burden down. You don't have to fight for decent housing, or black lung benefits, or to stay on welfare, or to build a food co-op. You just have to vote for 'Peanuts' and stay away from troublemakers that might weaken the Democratic Party.' "

"But, 'peanuts,' " said Coleman, "do not come from heaven. They come out of the ground and we need to keep our feet on the ground."□

EYES ON CITY HALL

SCHOOL BOARD BUDGET

The Oakland School Board, in a split vote, recently adopted a $183 million budget for next year. Board members Peggy Stinnett and Seymour Rose abstained from voting, with Stinnett explaining that she felt neither the Board nor the public had sufficient opportunity to review the final budget. Of the $183 million, approximately half of it will go to teachers' salaries while the other half will go to construction, day-to-day operations, school cafeterias and special purposes.

O.C.C.U.R. FUNDED

Full-year funding for the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR) — the city's official citizens' participation unity — has been formally approved by the Oakland City Council, with the only vote in opposition coming from Mayor John H. Reading. Reading was distressed over the fact that in 1974, OCCUR and the Alameda County Legal Aid Society filed a suit which halted the construction of the Grove-Shafter Freeway, designed to transport White commuters in and out of the proposed City Center Project in downtown Oakland. The suit was filed to provide replacement housing for residents displaced by the freeway construction and was settled in February of this year. However, state highways funds have now run out.

APPROVAL FOR HOUSING

The Oakland City Council recently decided to seek voter approval in the November 2 election for a series of projects designed to produce 4,400 low- and moderate-income housing units in the city. Oakland City Attorney David A. Self told a special meeting of the Council that voter approval should be obtained "at least to ensure the absence of litigation" against the housing projects. Self's office was then instructed by the Council to draw up a three-measure package. The package will include:

(1) $12 million for 300 units of City Center replacement housing as well as the $5 million settlement of the Grove-Shafter suit to provide another 500 units of replacement housing; (2) the Home Maintenance and Improvement Program, expected to produce 1,750 housing units; and (3) funding for the Neighborhood Preservation Program from city revenue bonds.

SAN FRANCISCO PARENTS SEEK QUALITY CHILD CARE PROGRAM

Yes On Child Care Committee Seeks Support

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A group of concerned parents here is leading the fight to insure quality child care facilities to counteract the defeat of a local referendum calling for the creation of a city-financed child care program, *The Militant* reports.

The Yes on Child Care Committee, a broad-based community organization, was formed during last spring's municipal elections in order to secure passage of Proposition 1 — the child care referendum. Prior to the June 8 elections, the reactionary San Francisco Board of Supervisors told local voters that they would have to choose between low taxes and child care programs — an alternative totally disregarding the needs of poor and working parents who need decent places for their children to stay when they are at work.

The Yes on Child Care Committee launched a full scale campaign exposing the phony choice dictated by the Board. The Committee pointed out that money for expanded child care can be raised without increasing the taxes on already overtaxed small home owners. Large corporations who pay little or no taxes at present could be taxed in order to raise the needed funds for day care facilities, the Committee argued.

The Committee also noted that decent child care is a right of the people and also that mothers have a right to be free from total responsibility for child rearing so that they can pursue jobs, education or whatever else they may choose.

HOMEOWNERS FRIGHTENED

The local government, however, succeeded in frightening small homeowners, who voted 99,833 to 71,727 against Proposition 1.

San Francisco is only one example of nationwide efforts by the federal government and local governments to cut back on social service programs for Black and other poor people. On May 5, Congress upheld President Ford's veto of a $125 million child care bill. Without these funds, many child care centers will be unable to meet minimal health, safety and personnel requirements and will eventually lose the rest of their federal funds.

No sooner, however, than Congress defeated the child care bill it increased the annual budget by $14 million.



Children from East Oakland's Child Development Center. Drastic cutbacks in child care programs are occurring across the U.S.

On March 31, the New York City government cut 7,200 families from day care programs because they were allegedly too "affluent" for day care services — they earned more than $11,411 per year. On May 27, the New York City Human Resources Administration announced plans to close 49 day care centers used by 3,500 children and to fire 1,500 day care workers on July 1. A lawsuit filed by parents has temporarily halted the closings.

Only through the unified efforts of organizations such as the Yes on Child Care Committee will Black and other poor people be able to demand that their local governments and the federal government provide quality social services such as child care facilities, to which all children are entitled.□



Milwaukee Black Woman Sentenced For Perjury

(Milwaukee, Wisconsin) — Ola Mae Davis, a 50-year-old Black mother was recently sentenced for a 1975 perjury conviction for attempting to expose the police murder of a 16-year-old Black youth, by Circuit Court Judge John Coffee.

During the controversial inquest into the death of Jerry Brookshire, Mrs. Davis testified that she saw Raymond Marlow, a White policeman, shoot Jerry Brookshire in the back as he tried to scale a fence and escape police pursuit. Offier Marlow testified that his revolver accidently went off as he and Brookshire fell to the ground during a scuffle.

Several nervous defense witnesses for Marlow gave varying degrees of support to his story. One of them who was a neighbor went so far as to say that Ola could not have seen the murder because she and Mrs. Davis were somewhere else during that time, shopping. Despite the pressure Ola Davis staunchly maintained her conviction of police murder.

Prior to the inquest, Mrs. Davis was harassed in an attempt to make her change her story. Her home was burned twice as were the two motel rooms she later moved into. None of these fires have been explained by authorities.

A year after the inquest jury cleared Marlow, a criminal jury decided that Ola Davis was guilty of perjury. Following the conviction, Mrs. Davis's previous sentence of probation for welfare fraud, was revoked and she was sent to Milwaukee County Jail.

While there, she revealed that a doctor's intervention was neccessary for her to recieve proper food and medication for diabetes. Ola was denied medical treatment for several days for a blow she received on the head from an iron chain.□

False Baby Food Advertising Charged

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A major consumer protection lawsuit was filed here recently in Superior Court charging the Baker/Beech-Nut Corporation — the country's third largest manufacturer of commercial baby food — with false advertising.

The suit challenges a mass mailing advertising campaign, in which the president of Beech-Nut sent a "personal letter" to 760,000 mothers of infant children to "warn" them of the dangers of home-prepared baby foods. The letter, claiming to be a public service, was actually a scare tactic with grossly misleading and false information about homemade baby foods, designed to induce new mothers to buy Beech-Nut's products.



The producers of Beech-Nut Baby Food have been charged with false advertising.

Plaintiffs in the suit are four Bay Area mothers, representatives of mothers of infants of small children across the country who received the Beech-Nut letter. They maintain in the class action suit that the letter was misleading and fraudulent in violation of California consumer protection laws.

Among Beech-Nut's false warnings were:

•That homemade baby food produced a deadly disease called "methenoglobinemia," from which "baby's skin turns blue and asphyxiation could result";

•That there is a "significant risk of bacterial contamination and resultant food poisoning"; and

•That homemade foods "lose nutrients in four ways," implying that such foods are thereby rendered inadequate.

These contentions have all been refuted and denounced by leading experts in nutrition, public health and pediatrics.□

PROPOSED S.F. MUNI TRANSIT CUTS MEET STRONG OPPOSITION

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Proposed cuts in this city's Muni (Municipal Railway Company) public transportation system were met with heated community protest at a recent Public Utilities Commission (PUC) hearing.

In a packed meeting at San Francisco City Hall, a decision on whether or not to cut service on 42 of Muni's 76 bus and streetcar lines was postponed as only two PUC members showed up (two called in sick while another was on vacation).

Spokespersons for the Coalition of Concerned Muni Riders pointed out that "these cuts will affect those who rely on the Muni to the greatest extent: the city's poor, elderly and handicapped residents."

Speaking before the Commission, Muni President Curtis Green showed figures and various surveys which, naturally, supported the transit system's requests for service cuts. However, Rick Eberling, speaking for the Concerned Muni Riders, revealed that he had conducted a survey also, and his figures showed that the analyses presented by Green were off by at least 19 per cent. Green's figures, Eberling pointed out, were based on Muni's "paper schedule" which on any given day does not correctly reflect the actual number of buses or streetcars operating on a particular line.



BPINS photo

Proposed San Francisco transit cuts will directly affect the city's already deficient bus and streetcar service.

Eberling stated that the figures presented by Muni were false, since, as the transit system itself admits, the system is already operating at less than peak efficiency.

At an earlier press conference in front of City Hall, speakers from the Concerned Muni Drivers expressed their feeling that these cuts are really the work of this city's chamber of commerce. Spokespersons for the drivers charged that the cuts will cause many heavy loads. Recently, the number of breakdowns in the system has been unprecedented, which, the drivers stated, is creating a serious danger to Muni riders.

At a closed mass meeting of Muni bus drivers held last Sunday, a strike call was authorized if current negotiations with the San Francisco Board of Supervisors break down. Beside pay increases and benefits, which the Board is trying to cut out, maintenance and safety were among the topics discussed.

Since a quorum was not present on the PUC Board, another hearing was scheduled for the near future, possibly two weeks from now. Concerned citizens who wish to become involved in this issue can contact Paul Perdue, Coalition of Concerned Muni Riders, at (415) 362-5630, day, or 387-5075, night. □

Black Symphony Player Files $1.5 Million Bias Suit

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Elayne Jones, the Black woman tympanist who was denied tenure and fired by the San Francisco Symphony, plans to file suit this week in Superior Court here.

Ms. Jones is seeking $1.5 million in damages and her reinstatement with the orchestra. The suit will name as defendants the Musicians Union, Local 6; the San Francisco Symphony Association and seven members of the Symphony Players' Committee that voted to deny Ms. Jones tenure last August.

Her attorney, Michael Kennedy, states that all of the defendants "are guility of racism and sexism" in the treatment of the Black tympanist. There are 22 women among the San Francisco Symphony's 100 members, and there have been only two Black members in the symphony's history, Ms. Jones pointed out. □



ELAYNE JONES, a tympanist, has filed a $1.5 million bias suit against the San Francisco Symphony.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

G.M. Reports Record Profits

(Detroit, Mich.) - The General Motors Corporation recently reported the second highest quarterly earnings in American business history — $909 million, or $3.16 a share for the three months that ended June 30. In the face of these staggering profits, G.M.'s new union contract proposals demand that workers share the cost of health insurance, give up certain strike rights and cut the wages and delay benefits of newly hired workers.

New Trial For Delbert Tibbs

(New York, N.Y.) - Delbert Tibbs, a 36-year-old Black poet, theological student and activist from Chicago's Southside, was recently removed from death row following a 4-3 Florida Supreme Court decision ordering a new trial, reports *Liberation News Service*. Tibbs was convicted in December in Ft. Meyers, Florida, of false rape and murder charges by an all-White jury.

A.I.M. Leader Acquitted

(Rapid City, S.D.) - Russell Means, the American Indian Movement (AIM) leader, has been acquitted by a circuit court jury here of the charge of murder in a 1975 barroom killing. The charge was the most serious Means has faced in four years of legal battles since he gained national attention as a key participant in the 1973 occupation by Indians of the Wounded Knee Reservation in South Dakota.

N.A.A.C.P. Fights Miss. Racism

(New York, N.Y.) - The NAACP will soon begin a major fundraising drive to post a bond of more than $1.5 million with a Mississippi court, an Association spokesperson recently announced. The bond is necessary to appeal a ruling made by Chancellery Court Judge George Haynes of Hinds County, Mississippi, that awarded 12 White merchants in Port Gibson a settlement of $1,250,699 because of an NAACP business boycott in 1966.

Nacogdoches Activists Fight Frame-Up Lawsuit

(Nacogdoches, Texas) - A statewide legal defense team is being organized on behalf of two Black Nacogdoches residents and a White lawyer who are the victims of a one million dollar lawsuit filed against them by four local White law enforcement officials.

Nacogdoches NAACP President Arthur Weaver, Ms. Gladys Evans and attorney Martha McCabe have been unjustly charged with "maliciously" and "falsely" filing a multimillion dollar federal lawsuit last year against the plaintiffs in the present suit — Nacogdoches Police Chief M.C. Roebuck, County Sheriff John Lightfoot, Deputy Sheriff Sharon Skeen and police officer Don Barlow. The 1975 suit filed by Ms. Evans charged the four with conspiring to cover up her rape by White inmates while she was incarcerated in the county jail.

Ms. Evans' suit was dismissed on April 20 of this year by U.S. District Court Judge William Wayne Justice on the grounds that she failed to appear in court when scheduled. In a blatant racial slur, Justice alleged that Ms. Evans was intoxicated on one occasion when she missed a court appearance.

RETALIATORY SUIT

Despite the dismissal of the suit, Roebuck, Lightfoot, Skeen and Barlow have filed a retaliatory suit seeking damages of $50,000 each for injuries to their names and reputation; $50,000 each for humiliation, embarrassment and mental suffering; $100,000 each for punitive damages; and $50,000 for attorneys' fees.

Weaver, a longtime civil rights activist in this racist east Texas town that is 40 per cent Black, was not a party to Ms. Evan's lawsuit but has obviously been singled out for his persistent demands for justice for the local Black community. Ms. McCabe served as Ms. Evans' attorney.

Bill Zoske, a legal worker with Community Legal Defense, which is organizing the defense of Weaver, Ms. Evans and Ms. McCabe, described the suit as an "outrageous attack on a civil rights leader, a member of the local bar and a citizen who once tried protecting her own Constitutional rights in federal court."☐

SIT-IN PROTESTS GUARD ATTACKS AT N.Y. STATE WOMEN'S PRISON

(New York, N.Y.) - Eight members of the New York State Prison Coalition are awaiting arraignment on charges of criminal trespass and resisting arrests, stemming from their participation in a sit-in at New York Governor Hugh Carey's Albany offices on July 29. The sit-in was held to protest the intensifying repression against inmates at Bedford Hills prison for women.

Sixteen members of the prison coalition, which includes prison projects and legal groups, took part in the action to pressure the governor to meet four demands: (1) that all male guards be immediately removed from Bedford Hills; (2) that women recently transferred from Bedford Hills to the predominantly male Matteawan State mental hospital, be allowed to return to Bedford Hills or another women's prison of their choice; (3) that a citizens' investigation of conditions of Bedford Hills be launched; and (4) that Carey issue a press release stating that the above steps are being implemented.

The sit-in was organized in response to a recent series of assaults on the "mentalities, bodies and pride" of Bedford Hills prisoners, in the words of Shirley Green, one of the protesters arrested.



Black women inmates continue to speak out against prison injustice.

Bedford Hills prison is located in a rural setting in the upstate New York town of the same name. "You look at it from the outside and it looks very much like a college campus, except for the walls," explained Steve Lattimer, an attorney who has represented inmates at Bedford Hills for about two and a half years.

"The administration calls it a 'campus,' they call the women 'residents,' they call the guards 'corrections officers.'

". . .They try to make the women very docile," he continued, "like little girls. They nurture that sexist attitude that exists on the outside. Where you have women that stand up and say 'We won't take this,' or 'I'm a person, not a puppet,' they can't handle it."

Lattimer explained that "beginning in October, 1975, they started a policy at Bedford Hills of using goon squads. Guards in full riot gear would go in and beat up a woman."

PRISONERS' LAWYERS

The prisoners' lawyers have affadavits describing many incidents in following months, which involved beatings, gassings, and the isolation of certain women in segregation units — bare cells that in some cases have no beds. In November, 1975, a woman with epilepsy was seriously beaten.

Shirley Green says that 10 women have been singled out for their reputation of resisting such abuse, and because of their role in helping other prisoners draw up suits against prison authorities.

On July 23, state patrolmen and reinforcements from surrounding prisons were brought into Bedford Hills. The women were transferred to Ward 19 at Matteawan, recently named "Bedford Hills Annex" by prison authorities. There they are vulnerable to the male guards and patients who are able to watch them from cell windows that face the courtyard.

"They are trying to divide the power, the strength, and the knowledge of the women," explained Green. "That is why they have been transferred."☐

Calif. Governor Brown Sued For Failure To Consider Pardons

(Oakland, Calif.) - Attorneys for the Legal Aid Society of Alameda County recently sued Governor Jerry Brown on behalf of Dennis Hetherington and the more than 300 other individuals having pardon applications pending before the governor in the Sacramento County Superior Court. The suit contends the governor has violated the California constitutional provision dealing with pardons and the due process rights of Hetherington in failing to consider his pardon application for over 16 months.

The suit alleges that the governor has failed to take any action on more than 100 pardon applications which have been pending before him for more than one year (some of the applications even date to when the governor first assumed office). The majority of the applications were forwarded to the governor only after they had received a recommendation that they be granted by various Superior Court judges throughout the state.

Hetherington's application was sent to Brown in April of 1975 with recommendations that it be granted by the California Supreme Court and the Sacramento County Sdperior Court. Despite these and similar recommendations (including one from Hetherington's employer, Allen Breed, director of the California Youth Authority) Brown has failed to take any action for over 16 months. Hetherington needs the pardon to obtain permanent employment with the state and sued after being informed by an official in the governor's office that he did not know when the governor would "have time" to consider his pardon application.

Peter Sheehan and Henry Hewitt of the Legal Aid Society, who represent Hetherington, argue that Brown's consistent failure to even consider pardon applications constitutes an unlawful abdication of the governor's obligations under the California Constitution and violates their client's rights to due process.

C.I.A. AND F.B.I. DENY COVER-UP IN ROSELLI "HIT"

Links To Murder Tries Against Castro And J.F.K. Assassination





JOHN ROSELLI (left) and SAM "Momo" GIANCANA were both slain in gangland-style executions after they revealed their roles in a CIA plot to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

(Miami, Fla.) - Round and round the "hit" wheel goes, and where it will stop, nobody seems to know — if you believe the CIA and FBI at any rate.

In late July, organized crime figure John Roselli's number on the "hit" parade came up when he left home one afternoon on his way to play a round of golf; and the discovery last week of his badly decomposed body inside a 55-gallon, chain-wrapped drum bobbing in Biscayne Bay raises a whole new series of questions into both the CIA's unsuccessful attempts to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

After a week of stalling by federal government officials, last Friday, August 13, Attorney General Edward Levi ordered the FBI to investigate "the possibility" that the 71-year-old former member of the Chicago crime syndicate was murdered as a result of his Senate committee testimony on the assassination plots.

In June, 1975, Roselli testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence concerning his role in making arrangements for at least two attempts on Castro's life in 1960 and 1961. Roselli is said to have testified that he and Sam "Momo" Giancana were recruited by the CIA for the plots to poison Castro, adding that the pair was offered $100,000 for their participation. The money was turned down, he said, "for patriotic reasons."

SECRET APPEARANCE

Roselli also made a second, secret appearance before the Senate committee in April, 1976, related to ongoing inquiries into the assassination of President Kennedy. Unlike the first appearance, which had been well publicized, Roselli's second call to testify was kept a close secret until this past Tuesday, two days after his body was found.

Interestingly, his second testimony came before the Senate committee headed by Senator Richard Schweiker, recently selected by right-wing conservative Ronald Reagan as his Vice Presidential running mate.

Five days before Roselli's 1975 appearance, "Momo" Giancana's late night snack in the kitchen of his Oak Park mansion in suburban Chicago was spoiled when unknown assassins pumped six .22 magnum bullets into the back of his head.

Before his untimely murder, Giancana, too, was scheduled to testify in the Senate probe of illegal CIA activity in the Castro assassination attempts. Open speculation at the time centered on the real possibility that Giancana was "hit" by the CIA to stop his testimony.

Giancana became kingpin of the Chicago rackets in the late 1930s and early 1940s, with Roselli as a trusted lieutenant. Roselli, under "Momo's" orders, was sent to Las Vegas in the 1950s to handle mob interests there, going to Los Angeles in the 1960s.

Another connection to be investigated is Roselli's and Giancana's links with Judith Exner Campbell, whose intimate affairs with the two organized crime figures took place simultaneously with her secret relationship with President Kennedy.

Investigators speculated that Roselli's body was not supposed to be found, but that gases formed by the decomposition process forced the barrel to break the chains holding it down, causing it to surface. This "accidental" discovery parallels the surprise finding of the gun, complete with silencer still attached, used to murder Giancana.

Round and round the "hit" wheel goes — with federal authorities still all-too-insistently labeling the string of assassinations dating from the time that John Kennedy's "chickens came home to roost" in 1963 as "coincidental."□

San Antonio Tenants' Union Pickets H.U.D.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

account for the funds, and that if it is not capable of doing so, that HUD gather this information, a matter of public record, for the OHA.

"Also, the San Antonio Tenants' Union demands that HUD deny the Oakland Housing Authority's request for rent increases. Suffice it to say that we are poor people, and unjustified rent increases will only produce an extra burden on ourselves and our families..."

Once upstairs, Mrs. Thomas lashed out at the HUD officials, at one point personally describing one by one, the poster size, 35" by 60" mounted pictures of deteriorating conditions in San Antonio Villa.

Hand on her hip, Mrs. Thomas told the tight-lipped officials that "We are tired of living in a manner not fit for human beings."

Concerning Harold Davis, the embattled Black executive director of the Oakland Housing Authority, Mrs. Thomas frankly remarked, "And we don't want that nigger down there anymore. He's not doing his job."

Mrs. Dorothy Burton and Mrs. Verdia McClendon, who along with Mrs. Thomas acted as spokespersons for the Tenants' Union, both opposed the proposed rent increase in the 178-unit project and argued, as well, for improved conditions and maintenance.



At an unexpected meeting, BESSIE THOMAS (center, holding poster) and DOROTHY BURTON (seated, foreground) blasted HUD officials for their failure to correct the deteriorating conditions in East Oakland's San Antonio Villa housing project.

In response, the HUD officials promised to schedule an inspection of San Antonio—meekly, "as soon as the chief engineer returns from vacation." The see-through excuse was ignored by Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Burton, who continued to demand prompt action.

Returning to the Villa, residents were happily surprised to find members of the Black Panther Party ready to distribute free bags of groceries to participants in the day's demonstration. Each of the over 110 full bags, stenciled "Black Panther Party Free Food Program," contained: 10 to 15 pounds of fresh fish; a 10-pound bag of potatoes; eggs; bread; canned juice; canned tomatoes; soup; pinto beans; fresh carrots and cherry tomatoes.□

A DISQUIETING INSIDE LOOK AT THE JIMMY CARTER NON-CAMPAIGN

BEHIND THE SMILE

It's been a "telling" week for Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter — in the literal meaning of that word.

First, there was the Los Angeles Times *article exposing Carter's attempts to buy the Black vote through "street money" donations to Black clergymen.*

Next, there was Carter's statement to the effect that his running mate, Democratic Vice Presidential nominee Walter Mondale, drop all criticisms of Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon.

Then, last for the week but certainly not least, the Los Angeles Times *came up with yet another Carter anecdote: brother Billy Carter's habit of wearing a T-shirt inscribed "Redneck Power." According to the* Times *story, Billy is the Carter family's "white sheep" — an "Archie Bunker in blue jeans. . .the family's self-proclaimed 'token redneck'...."*

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 2 of an inside look at the hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter, written by Robert Shrum — a former speechwriter for the Carter campaign — and reprinted from New Times *magazine.*

PART 2

The early planes to Atlanta were booked, and I was a half hour late for the issues meeting with Carter. The Oak Room of the Airport Hilton. A motel room, no oak. Seven people were sitting on metal chairs around a green-felted table. Carter had his feet on the table, his chair tilted back. Without missing a beat, he motioned me to an empty chair next to him.

He had just turned down a speech draft from Adam Walinsky about occupational health and safety. Walinsky wrote some of Robert Kennedy's best words. For Carter these words were "too radical." Another phrase, I was to learn, that is very much a part of his active vocabulary.

Stu Eizenstat, the issues director in the campaign office, told Carter that Maynard Jackson, the mayor of Atlanta, would endorse him in return for "one last thing" — some kind of help with a highway dispute. Carter stared hard at Eizenstat. He spoke at a measured pace; the emphasis was in the pause between each word. "Maynard Jackson can kiss my ass and you tell him that. I'm through calling him." (Jackson did endorse later that week.)

Eizenstat hesitated. He's a thin, mild-mannered Georgia lawyer in his mid-thirties — he could almost pass for Mr. Peepers. He switched the topic to the foreign policy task force, which was scheduled to be announced later that week. Carter fidgeted with his Annapolis class ring. Then he glanced over the list. "Isn't this Tony Lake one of the people mentioned in *Washington Monthly* campaigning for Secretary of State?" I hadn't read the article, but Tony's a friend, and he's modest almost to a fault. I said it was hard to believe he was running for Secretary of State; he was only about 35 years old.

Carter: "Who is he?" I answered: "He's the director of International Voluntary Service, the private Peace Corps, and was Kissinger's assistant until he resigned in protest over Cambodia." Carter's tone conveyed his disapproval: "He's the one who quit on Kissinger." It wasn't what I expected. Did he think Tony had committed a crime — or a sin?

Eisenstat handed Carter a draft of the economic position paper for Pennsylvania. The candidate was on guard: "I hope it doesn't commit me to too much," Carter said, playing with his ring, rolling it around his finger. He sounded irritated. "We have to be cautious. We don't want to offend anybody." There was an issue "that really bothers me. Don't send me any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon. Jackson has all the Jews anyway."

His tone was hard; the anger broke through his normal monotone. "It doesn't matter how far I go. I don't get over four per cent of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." I didn't regard it as anti-Semitic. I didn't, I don't, know how to regard it. Other politicians rebel privately against the pressure to

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Democratic Presidential candidate JIMMY CARTER has gained a reputation for straddling both sides of the fence.

Radioactive Nuclear Materials Missing

(Washington, D.C.) - A classified report from the General Accounting Office (GAO) released last week disclosed that government nuclear power facilities are unable to account for well over two tons of plutonium and uranium that could be fashioned into scores of atomic bombs.

Federal officials claim that virtually all the dangerous material is missing only in the sense that it is embedded in machinery or lost in crude statistical controls. An unclassified portion of the GAO report, however, charged that inventory controls were so poor that "timely response and recovery actions are precluded (impossible)."

The report revealed that 100,000 pounds of radioactive plutonium and uranium are missing, six to seven per cent of which could be easily fashioned into nuclear weapons, according to *The New York Times*. Inadequate controls and safeguards such as these have been one of the primary issues raised by nuclear power critics.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

S.F. Officials To Discuss White Panther Raid

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Following a heated debate of nearly one hour, the San Francisco Human Rights Commission (SFHRC) last week agreed to meet with Chief of Police Charles Gaines, the San Francisco Police Commission (SFPC) and the local district attorney to initiate an investigation of a 1974 police raid on the headquarters of the White Panther Party (WPP).

Over 100 members and supporters of the WPP turned out to urge the Commission to probe the July 12, 1974, massive police attack on the Haight-Ashbury headquarters of the WPP, during which police deliberately set fire to the Cole Street building. Four WPP members were arrested, including two of the Party's leading members, who are currently serving state prison terms on a variety of assault charges.



White Panther Party supporter speaks at San Francisco hearing.

Tensions rose among the commission's Police Liaison Committee calling for a meeting with Gaines, the SFPC and the district attorney. While there is strong sentiment on the Commission that it should carry out a full scale investigation of the matter, in reality, the organization's hands are tied because it has no power to investigate another city agency or department without the permission of the mayor.

In talks held last month with the SFHRC, Mayor George Moscone refused to grant approval for an investigation.

It was clear that the commissioners disagree as to what their powers are. One commissioner suggested that the body would only need mayoral approval to order a city agency to produce

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HUEY P. NEWTON (left) delivered a powerful eulogy at the Revolutionary Memorial Service for Fallen Comrade George Jackson.

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON AT THE REVOLUTIONARY MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE JACKSON—AUGUST 28, 1971

This week, in memory of slain Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson, we are reprinting the stirring eulogy that was delivered at Comrade George's Revolutionary Memorial Service on August 28, 1971, by Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton.

"Power to the People. Power to our Fallen Comrade, Brother George Jackson, member of the Black Panther Party. First I would like to explain, because many people are wondering, what is the connection between Brother George Jackson and the Black Panther Party.

"When I went to prison in 1967, I met George. Not physically, I met him through his ideas, his thoughts and words that I would get from him. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony.

"George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit.

"Shortly after I met George, I got word through the prison grapevine that he wanted to join the Black Panther Party; in fact he did join the Black Panther Party and he received the rank, at his request, of a member of the People's Revolutionary Army, and he was given the rank of General and Field Marshal. He was in charge of the prison recruiting, and also he would go on with his life as a revolutionary example, which was the most important thing that one can ever do, because that cannot be killed.

"I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the revolutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life.

"And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in these young Panther bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next.

A STRONG MAN

"What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, that he was a strong man, he was determined, full of love, strength, dedication to the people's cause, without fear. He lived the life that we must praise. It was a life, no matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause.

"The state itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world, that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The





The casket of George Jackson is carried away (left), as Mrs. GEORGIA JACKSON (right, dark glasses) salutes her son.





Thousands turned out to pay their respect to slain Black Panther Party Field Marshal GEORGE JACKSON.

state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal — it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs.

"So the state will legality could only, at best, hold one, confine one for a later period of negotiation about the wrong. And even if the state does wrong sometimes, maybe it could make itself legal by saying that we will go along with these wrong acts against us as long as we can negotiate them some other time. But of course with the death penalty, of course with the kind of violence that we see in our community where the police are also the executioners, we don't have this chance of negotiation.

AUDACITY

"They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but none of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right, every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

"George Jackson, even after his death, is a legendary figure and a hero. He must be — to the oppressor. This is true, I know it's true, because of the words of the oppressor. To cover their murder they say that George Jackson killed five people, five oppressors, (and) wounded three in the run of 30 seconds.

"You know, sometimes I like to look over the fact that it's physically impossible. But after all George Jackson is my hero. And I would like to think that it was possible; I would like to be very happy that George Jackson had the strength; he must have had to be a superman. (Of course, my hero would have to be a superman.) And we will raise our children to be like George Jackson, to live like George Jackson and to fight for freedom as George Jackson fought for freedom.

"We say that even after death, George Jackson still is alive, because his ideas, his spirit will be manifested in the physical. Again, we see our young Panthers here, who are growing up, and they will grow up trying to live by the standard that George Jackson set.

GOING ON LIVING

"George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living.

"So the body becomes of very little importance, the body of one individual. But the body of all of us, who cannot be eliminated (they cannot kill all of us as they killed George Jackson). By this, by this George left a legacy and he will go on, he will go on into immortality, because we believe that the people will win, we know the people will win, and we will advance wave upon wave.

"Even with George's last statement — his last statement to me -- at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. He made a statement that the unjust will be criticized by the weapon.

"And this will certainly be true, because the people will take care of that. George also said one time that the oppressor is very strong and he might beat him down, he beat us down, to our very knees, he might crush us to the ground, but it's physically impossible for him to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, and when his legs get tired, then George Jackson, the people will tear his knee caps off.

"But first the state sets such violence, you see. And some people say that we can't get rid of this kind of physical conflict with more of it. Well I would take issue with it (if we use that example of the oppressor stomping George Jackson down to his knees). He can't go on. And with the violence then, we act, when we return it, in our defense, by tearing his legs off. Of course he won't have a leg; but the violence will stop, because we don't care to take it on.

"It's true that the violence that he committed against us, by beating us down, we'll be hurt by it; but his leg will also be hurt, or his missing leg — the stub will ache him very much. So it is bad for us and it is bad for him also. But we're determined not to let him wipe the people out. We know that he cannot wipe the people out, because we will fight on. We will tear his legs off, we'll take the example from George Jackson.

"In the name of love and in the name of freedom, with love as our guide, we'll slit every throat that threatens the people and our children. We'll do it in the name of peace, if this is what we have to do; because as soon as it's over, then we can have the kind of world where violence will no longer exist.

"So we will be very practical, we won't make statements and believe the things or try to believe the things the prison offícals said to make them true, such as the 30 seconds and five people being eliminated — who were definitely oppressors — we will go on and live very realistically. In spite of the kind of hero George was to me, I know we don't come by, through that overnight. There's much pain and much suffering necessary in order for us to develop.

SUFFERING

"So even in our suffering I see a strength growing. I see the example that he set will not be let down.

"We know that all of us will die someday. But we know that death has two kinds of characters, the reactionary kind and the revolutionary kind. One death is significant and the other is not. George certainly died in a significant way, and his death will be very heavy; while the ones that fell, the ones that fell that day in San Quentin, their deaths will be lighter than a feather because it's insignificant; and even those who support them now will not support them in the future, because we're determined to change their minds. We'll change their minds or else in the people's name we'll have to wipe them out thoroughly, wholly, absolutely and completely.

"All Power to the People."□

"ON WITHDRAWAL"

ESSAY BY GEORGE JACKSON ON THE NATURE OF AMERICAN FASCI THE BUILDING OF THE CENTRAL CITY COMMUNE

"We must accept the eventuality of bringing the U.S.A. to its knees; accept the closing off of critical sections of the city with barbed wire, armoured pig carriers criss-crossing the streets, soldiers everywhere, tommy guns pointing at stomach level, smoke curling black against the daylight sky, the smell of cordite, house-to-house searches, doors being kicked in, the commonness of death."

So wrote Comrade George Jackson, the Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, by way of introduction to the opening chapter of his book, Blood In My Eye. *Throughout his outstanding last work, Comrade George carefully strips away the bewildering illusions that so conveniently distort the reality of the American nightmare, to bring to the fore the concrete revolutionary process. Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the essay, "On Withdrawal," excerpted from* Blood In My Eye, *in which Comrade George outlines the groundwork for the building of a central city commune foundation, the "infrastructure" as he called it, "capable of fielding a true people's army" and leading to the freedom and liberation of all.*

SYLLOGISM, n. argument with two premises and a conclusion; a logical scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and minor premise and a conclusion which must logically be true if the premises are true.

—*Merriam-Webster*

After revolution has failed, all questions must center on *how* a new revolutionary consciousness can be mobilized around the new set of class antagonisms that have been created by the authoritarian reign of terror. At which level of social, political and economic life should we begin our new attack?

First, we, the Black partisans and their vanguard party, the old and new left alike, must concede that the worker's revolution and its vanguard parties have failed to deliver the promised changes in property relations or any of the institutions that support them. This must be conceded without bitterness, name-calling, or the intense rancor that is presently building.

There have been two depressions, two great wars, a dozen serious recessions, a dozen brush wars, crisis after economic crisis. The mass psycho-social national cohesiveness has trembled on the brink of disruption and disintegration repeatedly over the last fifty years, threatening to fly apart from its own concentric inner dynamics.

But at each crisis it was allowed to reform itself; with each reform, revolution became more remote. This is because the old left has failed to understand the true nature of fascism.

We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the predominance of the traditionalist, capitalist ruling class. But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be "reform." We can make our definition more precise by adding the word "economic." "Economic reform" comes very close to a working definition of fascist motive forces.

Such a definition may serve to clarify things even though it leaves a great deal unexplained. Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses. Disguise enters as a third stage of the emergence and development of the fascist state. The modern industrial fascist state has found it essential to disguise the opulence of its ruling class's leisure existence by providing the lower classes with a mass consumer's flea market of its own.

To allow a sizable portion of the "new state" to participate in this flea market, the ruling class has established currency controls and minimum wage laws that mask the true nature of modern fascism. Reform (the closed economy) is only a new way for capitalism to protect and develop fascism!

After the German SS agents or Italian Black Shirts kick in the doors and herd Jews and Communist partisans to death camps, after Peg-Leg White's Black Legion terror and the Guardians of the Republic and their offspring legitimize the F.B.I., in other words, after the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual.

The significance of the "new fascist arrangement" lies in the fact that this business-as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.

NEW CORPORATE STATE

Corporative ideals have reached their logical conclusion in the U.S. The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world. The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history.

With each advancement in the authoritarian process and strengthening of the ruling class's control over the system, there was a corresponding weakening of the people's and workers' movement.

And intellectuals still argue whether Amerika is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the Amerikan left's flight from reality, from any truly extreme position. This is actually a manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche. At this stage, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

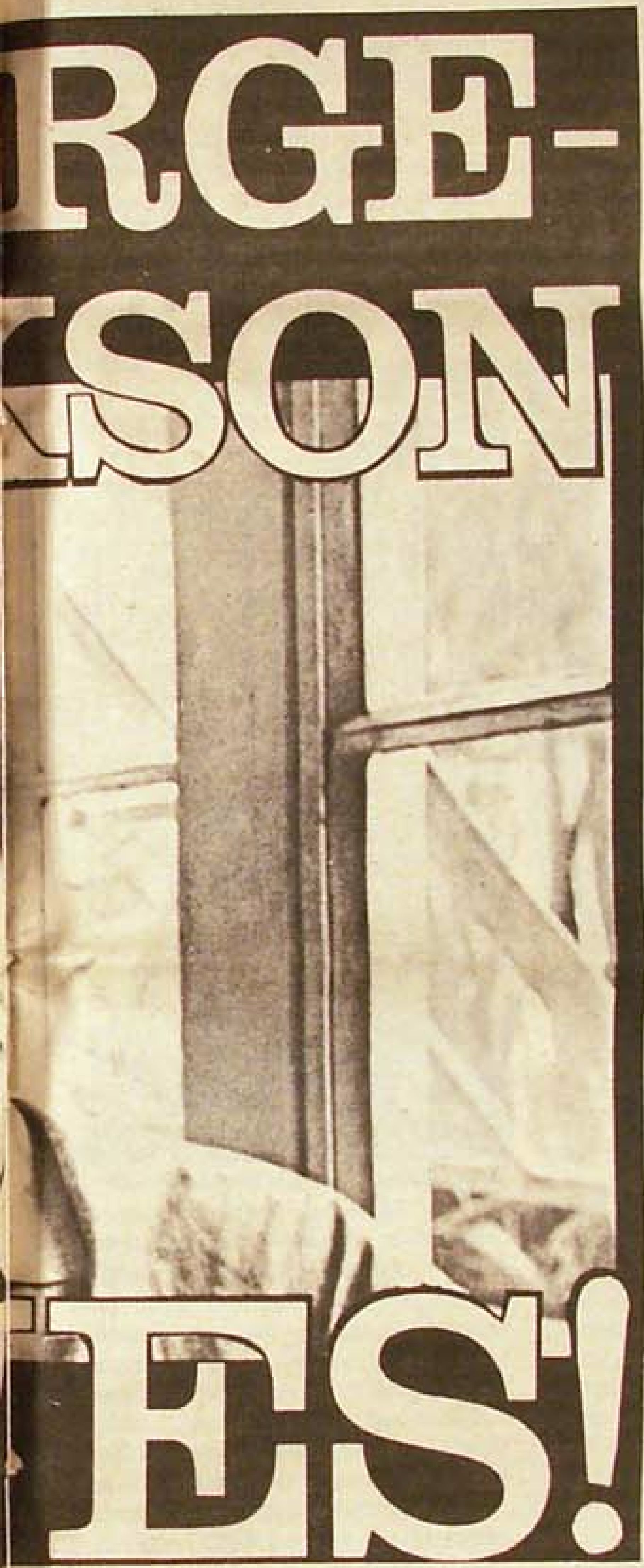
Of course, the revolution has failed. Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform. The only way we can destroy it is to



refuse to compromise with the enemy state and its ruling class. Compromises were made in the thirties, the forties, the fifties. The old vanguard parties made gross strategic and tactical errors. At the existential moment, the last revelation about oneself, not many members of the old vanguard choose to risk their whole futures, their lives, in order to alter the conditions that Huey P. Newton describes as "destructive of life."

Reformism was allowed. The more degenerate elements of the working class were the first to succumb. The vanguard parties supported the capitalistic war adventure in World War II. Then they helped to promote the mass consumers' market that followed the close of the war, the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands. Today we are faced with a clearly different set of class antagonisms, the complexities of a particularly

M AND



refined fascist economic arrangement, where the controlling elites have coopted large portions of the lowly working class.

When we ask ourselves: Where will we attack the enemy state? We are answered: At the productive point.

The next logical question is: With whom and what will we attack the fortified entrance of the productive and distributive system in a nation of short-sighted, contented, conservative workers? Obviously, the fascist movement is counterrevolution at its very center. Fascist reformism is a calculated response to the classic, scientific-socialist approach to revolution through positive mobilization of the working classes. From its inception the fascist arrangement has attempted to create the illusion of a mass society in which the traditional capitalist ruling class would continue to play its leading role. A mass society that is not a mass society; a mass society of authoritarians whose short-term material interests are perfectly suited to the development of the perfect totalitarian state and centralized economy.

The most precise definitions of fascism involve the concept of "scientific capitalism," or "controlled capitalism," a sophisticated, totalitarian, "learned" response to the challenge of egalitarian, scientific socialism. After its successful establishment in Spain, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and the United States of America, we are faced with the obvious question of "how to raise a new consciousness."

We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has "gone through" a contrapositive, authoritarian process.

The new vanguard elements seem to agree that withdrawal from the enemy state and its social, political and economic life is the first step toward its destruction. The new vanguard elements seem to agree that the new revolutionary consciousness will develop in the struggles of withdrawal. However, after this point, agreement grows vague and is all but lost in a sea of contradiction. The contention turns on one primary question — the scope and range of violence within the revolutionary process.

IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE

After the lengthy and clearly unnecessary ideological battle that laid to rest a direct approach to revolution by the White or Black worker, we are now faced with an equally unnecessary ideological battle over which of the various communal (revolutionary cultural) approaches has the stronger revolutionary validity.

The problem is compounded by the almost apolitical withdrawal of the growing Weatherman faction, and their estranged allies on campus, to organic food gardens and a life of sex, music and drugs. Their Nietzschean-Hegelian withdrawal mimics the European historical experience of the last five generations. In our question, this must be considered the minor side of the syllogism. Though revolution is in fashion, the realistic, cohesive synergism seems as yet impossibly remote.

On the other side of the equation, we have Huey Newton's concept of Black communes set well within the huge population centers of the enemy state. This concept accepts any level of violence that will be necessary to enforce the demands of the people and workers. These communes will be tied to one another by a national and international vanguard party and joined with the world's other revolutionary societies. They are the obvious answer to all the theoretical and practical questions and problems about an Amerikan revolution — a revolution that will be carried out principally by Blacks.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, political and economic life? Who has the least short-term interest — or no interest at all — in the survival of the present state? In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascists who would dismantle the basis of their hierarchy?

Just how many Amerikans are willing to accept the physical destruction of some parts of their fatherland so that the rest of the land and the world might survive in good health? How can the Black industrial worker be induced to carry out a valid worker's revolutionary policy? What and who will guide him?

The commune. The central citywide revolutionary culture. But who will build the commune that will guide the people into a significant challenge to property rights? Carving out a commune in the central city will involve claiming certain rights as our own — out front. Rights that have not been respected to now. Property rights. It will involve building a political, social and economic infrastructure, capable of filling the vacuum that has been left by the establishment ruling class and pushing the occupying forces of the enemy culture from our midst.

IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation of this new social, political and economic program will feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the "owners" of the enemy bourgeois culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people, or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind. If he will not leave voluntarily, we will expel him — we will use the shotgun and the antitank rocket launcher!!

Who will build on an ideal that begins with force? The vanguard party is now nationwide. But vanguard parties cannot build revolutions alone. Nor can a vanguard party expect full party line agreements before it moves in the direction of the people. Revolution is illegal. It's against the law. It's prohibited. It will not be allowed. It is clear that the revolutionary is a lawless man. The outlaw and the lumpen will make the revolution. The people, the workers, will adopt it. This must be the new order of things, after the fact of the modern industrial fascist state.

In Blacks, the authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and lack of intellectual stimulation. The communal experience will redeem them. At present, the Black worker is simply choosing the less dangerous and complicated strategy of survival. All classes and all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It is an atavistic throwback to the herd instincts. But it requires only the proper trauma, the proper eco-sociological set of circumstantial pressures to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness.

Racism enters on the psycho-social level, in the form of a morbid, traditional fear of both Blacks and revolutions. The resentment of Blacks, and conscious or unconscious tendencies to mete out pain to Blacks, throughout the history of Amerika's slave systems, all came into focus when Blacks began the move from South to North and from countryside to city to compete with Whites in industrial sectors, and, in general, engage in status competition. Resentment, fear, insecurity, and the usual isolation that is patterned into every modern, capitalist industrial society (the more complex the products, the greater the division of labor; the higher the pyramid, the broader its base and the smaller the individual brick tends to feel) are multiplied by ten when racism, race antagonism, is also a factor.

There is certainly no lack of evidence to prove the existence of an old and built-in character assassination of programmed racism (what class controls the nation's educational facilities, prints the newspapers and magazines that carry the little cartoons, and omits or misrepresents us to death?) has always served

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"On Withdrawal"

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to distract and defuse feelings of status deprivation suffered by the huge sectors just above the Black one. Then also to account for the seemingly dual nature recognizable in the authoritarian personality (conformity, but also a strange latent destructiveness), racism has always been employed as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision maker, to hate freedom.

The revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary "is a doomed man." All of the forces of counterrevolution stack up over his head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself. "From the beginning" of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The children's breakfast programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century.

We must build with the fingers of one hand wrapped around a gun (an anti-personnel weapon). We cannot leave the central city. This must be understood by the other revolutionary people if we are to move together to conclusive action.

The war will be fought in the nerve centers of the nation, the cities where Angela was finally captured as she was at work for the revolution, where Huey was found hiding and working by the government's propaganda apparatus.

We cannot withdraw from the cities. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new Black communes. A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM.

GEORGE JACKSON LIVES!

"S.Q. 6 JURY COLLABORATORS"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

another; but his conviction proves positively one thing, beyond a doubt; that government assassination and murder can be justified in this country's judicial system and that only a serious change in that system, a court system controlled by the people, will produce justice.

"We will move, at this time, to appeal this abominable decision in an effort to continue to exploit all legal means to free Johnny Spain."

(San Rafael, Calif.) - And still the cover-up of the assassination of George Jackson continues.

After 24 days of deliberations, ending just nine days short of the fifth anniversary of the August 21, 1971, incident, a jury of 11 Whites and one Black succumbed to pressures and, abandoning all principles, delivered a compromise verdict in the San Quentin 6 trial, acquitting three of the Black and Brown prison activists while convicting three others.

HORRENDOUS DECISION

The harshest — and most horrendous — decision came down against Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain, 27, who was convicted for the shooting deaths of two San Quentin guards and conspiracy to escape. Spain's conviction symbolized the extent of the compromise of the jury's decision, since there was no evidence presented throughout the 16-month proceedings, the longest in state history, to justify this verdict. Spain "took the weight," as they say in prison jargon, as a result of the nearly all-White, middle-class jury's distorted views about the Black Panther Party and their seeming inability to comprehend the forces at play in the assassination of BPP Field Marshal George Jackson.

Also found guilty in the tainted verdict were David Johnson, 29, convicted of one count of assault on a guard; and Hugo Pinell, 32, for two counts of assault on guards.

Acquitted of all charges were Willie Tate, 31, Luis Talamantez, 32, and Fleeta Drumgo, 30. In all, the jury returned "not guilty" verdicts in 40 of the 46 counts in the multiple indictments against the six defendants.

Incredibly, several of the jurors admitted following the trial that they "accepted" the prosecution's "gun-in-a-wig" theory, that author/revolutionary Jackson received a small .9 mm Astra automatic from attorney Stephen Bingham and then smuggled the pistol back to the notorious Adjustment Center under an Afro wig. Jackson, according to the prosecution witnesses, proclaimed, "The Black dragon has come to free you all" when he seized control of the AC.

"Yes, we accepted that theory," Ralph Long, a 59-year-old retired Mill Valley librarian told the *San Francisco Examiner*. "We knew the gun got into the Adjustment Center somehow and that was the only way it could have gotten in."

By this, the jury rejected the contention of a veteran San Quentin admitting officer that it was totally impossible for Bingham to have brought a gun into the visiting room either via a tape recorder or within the attache case he carried. Defense attorneys argued that Paul Krasnes, one of the slain guards, had brought the gun into the AC in his back pocket as part of the set-up attempt. Defendant Hugo Pinell testified that he actually saw, through a mirror arrangement he had constructed in his cell, Krasnes pull the gun on Jackson.

On the other hand, several of the jurors also told the media they, in fact, believed the "counterconspiracy" plot involving state and federal law enforcement officials' attempts to halt Jackson's tremendous organizing abilities — to silence his internationally acclaimed, human views on prison reform and the transformation of American society.





San Quentin 6 defendant JOHNNY SPAIN (top left). George Jackson's bloody Adjustment Center cell, 1-AC-6, on August 21, 1971.

During the course of the trial, Black ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood testified that over the course of two years, he and 18 state and federal law enforcement officials, based primarily in Los Angeles, worked day and night toward the objectives of the assassination of George Jackson and the destruction of the Black Panther Party.

ALL 18 PEOPLE

Despite the fact that Tackwood specifically identified all 18 people involved in the plot — clearly defining their roles and functions — the assistant D.A. Jerry Herman called no rebuttal witnesses to refute the charges.

Expressing doubt and confusion, which undoubtedly dominated the jury's lengthy deliberations, one of the jurors, Sandra Irish, a Wells Fargo Bank teller, told *The New York Times*: 'I still don't think I know what were the circumstances of George Jackson's murder."

During the trial, noted San Francisco attorney Charles R. Garry presented a structured and complete defense of "impaired consciousness" for Spain. Garry argued that, as a result of rampant guard racism and "cesspool-like" conditions in the Adjustment Center, Spain suffered a temporary psychological experience similar to being "shell shocked" from the time his cell door opened until he dove into a hedge of bushes in the AC courtyard. George Jackson, Garry argued, was not killed as he ran to escape over a 25-foot high stone wall, but rather was murdered as he lay on the ground, wounded from a bullet wound in the ankle.

Defense attorneys for the three convicted defendants said, in preliminary statements, that they would immediately appeal the decision on the grounds that the defendants were illegally chained and shackled in their chairs throughout the trial. In his zeal to convict the Six, the attorneys said, Judge Henry Broderick ignored a state supreme court order banning chains and shackles in California courtrooms. □

Intercommunal News

618 DIE IN BLOODY MASSACRE

Mozambique And Rhodesia On The Brink Of War

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Full scale war between Mozambique and Rhodesia threatened to break out last week as military forces of the two enemy governments clashed in bloody fighting — one incident resulting in the mass murder by Rhodesian security forces of 618 people in a Mozambique village used as a military base by Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) liberation forces.

Tensions between Black-ruled Mozambique and the White minority Rhodesian regime have escalated since March 3 of this year when Mozambican President Samora Machel, acting in support of the armed struggle for majority (Black) rule in Rhodesia, declared a "state of war" — not an official declaration of war — with neighboring Rhodesia. The Mozambican leader closed his country's 800-mile long border with Rhodesia and severed all economic trade with the breakaway British colony.

Mozambique has served as a longtime sanctuary for Zimbabwean liberation forces; an estimated 1,500 are now based in Mozambique, another factor in the deteriorating relations with Rhodesia.

The first major incident last week occurred on August 8 in the Mozambican village of Nhagomia, about 25 miles inside the former Portuguese colony. Radio Mozambique reported that Rhodesian security forces, in armored cars and other vehicles, attacked "completely defenseless" men, women and children, and placed the death toll at 618. Included among the dead were Zimbabwean freedom fighters, FRELIMO troops of Mozambique and civilians.

An official statement from the government of Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith alleged that the Salisbury regime killed 300 Zimbabwe guerrillas, 30 FRELIMO troops and 10 civilians in the Nhagomia attack, but reported no casualties among Rhodesian forces.

The Rhodesian government said that its vicious attack on Nhagomia — allegedly in "hot pursuit" of "aggressors" against Rhodesia — was in retaliation for an attack launched earlier on the

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Mozambican President and FRELIMO leader SAMORA MACHEL reviewing the revolutionary armed forces of his country.

MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL ON AFRICAN LIBERATION

"THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES IS OUR STRUGGLE"

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an exclusive interview with Samora Machel, the esteemed president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, conducted by Wilfred Burchett of the Guardian. *Concerning this interview Burchett writes:*

"An encounter with Samora Machel, the 43-year-old president of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the People's Republic of Mozambique, is a rare political, intellectual and human treasure. Every question that interests him — and there seem to be none that do not — sparks off a brilliant shower of observations. No formalities — tables and chairs on a lawn in shirtsleeves. Ho Chi Minh-style — and no questions barred."

PART 1

QUESTION: Can the experience of FRELIMO's armed struggle be applied to countries such as Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South Africa), where the argument is frequently used that they were "colonized from within," the White colony having been "born and bred" there, with a very personal stake and no "motherland," as the Portuguese had, to which they could withdraw?

MACHEL: They are different, but not radically so. Zimbabwe is a colony in which the colonizers have illegally seized power. Just as the Portuguese colonists would have liked to do — and indeed tried to do — here. The question is not where to go, but whether it is a colony or not. And the answer is "yes." It is not for us to ask where they are going to go — but a question of whether they are colonies or not. The question is, where is colonialism itself going? To pose the question of where the colonists can go is to raise a false problem.

The argument of being "born and bred" there also carries no weight. Many of the Portuguese colonists were born and bred there — they'd never been out of the country. Now they all go to Portugal. Why? Because they cannot face up to the law and cannot face up to equality. So there is no question of them wanting to stay because of some "attachment" to the country in which they were "born and bred."

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INTERVIEW WITH LEADING MEMBER OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FRONT

"THE PALESTINIANS ARE SPEAKING WITH GREATER STRENGTH"

Following, is the conclusion of an interview with Dr. Ahmed Hamzeh, a leading member of the Palestinian National Front (PNF). Last March, on the eve of the elections which took place in the West Bank, in which he was a candidate for mayor in the city of Hebron, Dr. Hamzeh was expelled from his country by occupying Israeli authorities. The PNF is a member group in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).



Arab demonstrators light bonfires to protest Israeli control of Jordan's West Bank.

CONCLUSION

Q: You were a candidate in the municipal elections and you had a good chance of being elected. What is your interpretation of the Israeli decision to hold elections?

HAMZEH: I think that it was a hazardous gamble. But one cannot judge the results of the elections without referring to the context in which the decision to hold them was made. The Israelis thought that the conditions were favorable. I will only cite a few.

First, the systematic use of the American veto concerning the Palestinian question, which had been interpreted, justly, as an encouragement. To this one adds the appearance and the development of certain negative tendencies within certain Arab countries. From the Sinai accords to the civil war in Lebanon there were multiple signs of a vast plot against the Palestinian revolution.

The Zionists judged that, under these conditions, it would be possible for them to systematize the provocations and the actions aimed at consolidating the current de facto situation. The pillage of the sacred places, at Jerusalem and at Al Khallil (Hebron), the land seizures and the "development" enterprises on land seized from the Arabs, are all aspects of this colonial policy. Our people countered this violence with a sharp resistance, the forms of which are now radicalizing. Palestinian blood has flowed, but from each episode of this struggle the Arab population gains determination.

Since then, there is only one recourse remaining: the repressive, racist violence (and I insist on this fact which is not just a polemical phrase), deportation, but also the attempt to find docile Arab interlocutors. Hence the project of a so-called autonomous civilian administration, based on the "elected" conciliators and collaborators. It is, without a doubt, this perspective which emboldened the Zionist leaders. They counted on a decision on our part to boycott the elections as we had done in 1972.

But the Palestinian National Front, an integral part of the PLO, did not advocate a boycott. This surprised our adversaries who were no longer able, at the risk of thoroughly exposing themselves, to beat a retreat. A boycott would have permitted the agents and collaborators to take on the functions of mayor, of municipal councilors, or to be confirmed in that position. Also we judged that it was tactically correct, to lead this electoral battle and to make it a springboard for our political action.

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West Bank Tax Revolt Continues

(Nablus, Occupied West Bank) - Palestinian shopowners kept their shutters closed and demonstrations continued throughout the Occupied West Bank of the Jordan River last week in widespread protest against a new "Value Added Tax (VAT)" imposed on goods and supplies by Israeli authorities.

Hsinhua news agency reports that mass demonstrations were held in Nablus Hebron, Jericho, Ramalla, Jerusalem and other cities and towns. Normal public life was brought to a standstill.

Here in Nablus many Israeli cars were damaged by stones and bottles hurled by Palestinian youth. In Hebron, bitter clashes took place between angry protesters and Zionist military authorities. Smoke from burning car tires could be seen for miles as the youth blockaded narrow streets and alleyways.

Meanwhile, in Beit Jala, mass Palestinian meetings were held in strong opposition to the barbwiring off of a hill area as the site for a new Israeli settlement. The creation of such settlements—25 have been built so far — has caused much resentment and resistance among the Palestinian people. "We must stop this blatant encroachment of our property and our rights," said Beit Jala Mayor Bishara Daoud.

AFRICA IN FOCUS

South Africa

The U.S. Pentagon is quietly seeking increased American military cooperation with the tottering South African government while attempting to avoid confrontation with opponents of the White racist regime, *Pacific News Service* reports. A recent issue of the U.S. Army's *Military Review* suggests that the U.S. establish a naval base in the Transkei — which will receive nominal independence from South Africa in October as a Black "homeland." Although the article allegedly does not reflect the "official position" of the U.S., experts who monitor defense activities say it is a "trial balloon" for the Pentagon.

Botswana

Recent reports reaching the capital city of Gaborone indicate that Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) liberation forces have opened a new front on Botswana's eastern border with Rhodesia. Botswana is one of the four Black-ruled frontline states in southern Africa (Mozambique, Angola and Zambia are the others) that is spearheading aid to the armed liberation struggles in Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa).

Nigeria

The Nigerian government recently announced the second phase of its plan to limit foreign investments in the West African nation involving the transfer of controlling interests in most industries to Nigerians, *Pacific News Service* reports. By this time in 1977, small businesses must be 100 per cent Nigerian-owned and larger enterprises, such as banks and heavy industries, must be 60 per cent Nigerian-owned. The Indigenization Plan involves a transfer to private Nigerian ownership by stock sales rather than nationalization.

Guinea-Bissau

Over 10,000 people attended a mass rally and parade in Bissau marking the 17th anniversary of the dockers' strike at Bissau Port on August 3, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. Present at the rally were President Luis Cabral, head of the Council of State of Guinea-Bissau, Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of the National People's Assembly, and government ministers.

"COLOREDS" AND WHITES BACK BLACK PROTESTS

SOUTH AFRICAN REBELLION SPREADS TO CAPETOWN

(Capetown, South Africa) — Militant Black protest against the South African apartheid system took a new turn last week, as some 90,000 Black people in this predominantly "Colored" city 800 miles southwest of Johannesburg carried out two days of demonstrations. At least 29 Azanians (Black South Africans) were killed and hundreds wounded during the 48 hours of violence.

The Capetown rebellion — the first major uprising by Blacks outside the Johannesburg "township" of Soweto since renewed anti-apartheid demonstrations erupted in the country two weeks ago — came as a shock to the White minority government. Capetown is the center of the country's mulatto or "Colored" (as the government calls it) population, which numbers 600,000. The Black population is 110,000. Traditionally, Azanians have limited their protests to predominantly Black "townships" surrounding Johannesburg, but they abandoned this tactic last week in Capetown.

Another tradition was broken when Capetown Colored and White students demonstrated their solidarity with the Soweto protests. Students at the University of Capetown for Coloreds boycotted their classes last week in support of the Soweto uprisings, and some 800 students at the University of Capetown for Whites were arrested when they tried to march from their campus to the Black "townships" outside the city to show their support of their Black counterparts in the north.

CAPETOWN "TOWNSHIPS"

Violence erupted on Wednesday, August 11, in Capetown "townships" of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, when police fired tear gas and bullets to disperse Black students — carrying placards and singing religious hymns - attempting to march into Capetown. The violence continued into the night, with students throwing stones at the police.

On Friday, August 13, when relative calm had returned to the area, the death toll stood at 29, with hundreds wounded and at least 74 Azanians arrested, according to government figures.

Earlier in the week, on Monday, August 9, police killed two Black youth in the Johannesburg "township" of Alexandra. Major protests were also reported in the Black community of New Brighton near Port Elizabeth — 600



Militant Black South African women sing freedom songs during recent protests.

miles southeast of Johannesburg — where tear gas was seeped into a stadium in which some 5,000 Azanians were attending a boxing match.

Black resistance to the apartheid system is growing as the government continues to press for its racist policy of "separate development." Under this plan 75 per cent of South Africa's 18 million Black people will be transplanted to rural Bantustans or "homelands" that are slated for "independence" from the White minority regime. This policy will strip Azanians of their citizenship, forcing them to live on 13 per cent of the land in areas where most of them have no ties.

Those Azanians who will be allowed to live in or near White urban areas will be considered "foreign workers" or "sojourners" during their employment.

Opponents of separate development point out that "independ-

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Z.A.N.U. Protests Rhodesian Official In S.F.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A spirited demonstration was held here last Friday, August 13, outside the Regency Hyatt Hotel to protest the appearance of Kenneth Towsey, deputy secretary of the Rhodesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and director of the U.S. Rhodesian Information Center (RIO). The latter agency is violating U.S. law by recruiting mercenaries to fight against Black liberation forces in Rhodesia.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Bay Area Chapter of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). ZANU's North American District secretary, TIRIVARI KANGAI (center), delivered a statement attacking the U.S. for continuing to illegally trade with the White racist Rhodesian regime in defiance of United Nations economic sanctions. Kangai pledged that ZANU will continue to lead the armed liberation struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia.

BPINS photo

U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 7 of a special report on the March 21, 1960, Sharpeville Massacre, that was written by David Sibeko, director of foreign affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) and its representative at the United Nations. The report, published at the request of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, details the circumstances surrounding the brutal slaying of 69 Black Azanians and the wounding of hundreds.

PART 7

At the end of their trial, at which they were charged with sedition and incitement because of their leadership of the Positive Action Campaign and the uprising which followed the Sharpeville shootings, Mr. Sobukwe told the court:

"If we are sent to jail there will always be others to take our place"



South African mother and child, victims of riot police brutality.

This forecast, based on a deep understanding of African hatred for White settler domination, has been vindicated countless times.

In the post-Sharpeville era the South African racist regime enacted a series of harsh laws to harrass its opponents that compounded the notoriety of apartheid year in and year out. Evidence was abundant that both the PAC and the ANC had resolved to carry on with the struggle underground, after the outlawing of the two African organizations under the amorphous suppression of Communism Act.

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Mozambique And Rhodesia On The Brink Of War

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

same day by FRELIMO troops who bombarded a Rhodesian military base at Ruda with rockets, mortars and antitank guns. *United Press International* reported that Cuban troops aided the FRELIMO forces. The Smith government, for the first time, alleged that Tanzanian and Russian, as well as Cuban forces, are aiding the Zimbabwean liberation forces.

On Wednesday, August 11, FRELIMO troops, retaliating for Sunday's bloody massacre at Nhagomia, crossed the Rhodesian border and shelled Umtali, one of the country's largest cities (population 55,000). An official Rhodesian government communique said that FRELIMO troops fired 30 mortar shells into Umtali. Property was damaged but no one was reported killed. Almost immediately, two Rhodesian hawker jets flew into Mozambique. There was no official report on whether they carried out an attack.



Mozambican woman sorrowfully stands at the grave of her sister, who was killed by invading Rhodesian military forces.

The significance of the Umtali incident was that it was the first time the Smith regime blamed an attack on the Mozambique government. Previously, Rhodesia blamed Zimbabwean freedom fighters for attacks, carefully distinguishing between FRELIMO forces and those of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA). The Umtali incident could point toward direct, open war between Rhodesia and Mozambique.

Internews reported that Whites in Salisbury, Rhodesia's capital, celebrated the Nhagomia raid with champagne toasts to the "boys on the front," calling the battle "Rhodesia's Entebbe," a reference to the brutal Israeli commando raid at the airport in Entebbe, Uganda, in late June.

All Rhodesian Whites were not overjoyed by the incident. One Salisbury stockbroker said that the "turn-of-events are bringing us closer to war with Mozamique and possibly other Black nations."□

WORLD SCOPE

Portugal

Former President Antonio de Spinola has been granted unconditional freedom after his return from 17 months in exile. Spinola, Portugal's first head of state after the overthrow of the right-wing dictatorship, was originally arrested on his return because of suspected complicity in an unsuccessful right-wing coup early last year.

Ireland

After protesting a British plan to strip imprisoned Irish Republican Army (IRA) members of their special status category which allows them more visitors and avoidance of certain prison duties, Maire Drumm, the vice president of the "Provisional" Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA's progressive "Provisional" wing, was arrested in Belfast early last week. Under Ireland's emergency laws, Maire Drumm can be held up to 72 hours without charge.

Haiti

Progressive journalist Gasner Raymond was shot in the head and his body dumped on a road near Port-au-Prince. Raymond was assassinated shortly after coming out in favor of a strike by cement workers — the first open labor walkout in Haiti in 10 years. Raymond wrote for the popular weekly, *Le Petit Samedi Soir*. All strikes in Haiti are illegal. Haiti is currently undergoing political and economic oppression by the "Baby Doc" Duvalier regime, which is backed by the United States.

Philippines

Two earthquakes, one in the People's Republic of China and the other in the Philippines, struck late Monday night and early Tuesday morning. Philippine government officials said that 519 persons were killed, most in coastal towns off the main island of Mindanao, 500 miles south of the capital city of Manila. The Philippine quake came two hours after a large tremor was reported in southern China, 800 miles southwest of the area of the devastating earthquake that hit the northern part of the country three weeks ago. There were no immediate reports of Chinese casualties.



Land Of The Free

Hey, if you don't like it here, why don't you leave?
If you don't like this job, quit
Nobody's making you work here, are they?
You're quick enough to take your paycheck, I see
So shut up
If you think this job isn't good enough for you
Go get yourself another job
(ha ha)

She didn't have to let them rape her
She took her clothes off herself, didn't she?
It was her own choice
She could have chosen to be murdered first
There's no proof, said the judge
Looking at the photograph
That the girl in this photograph
With a boot up her vagina
Wasn't enjoying it
Nobody made her do it
She was in the bar, wasn't she?
She let them get her drunk
She got in the car with them
She wanted an orgasm
She asked for it
(ha ha)
She deserved what she got
(ha ha)
Murder

Nobody's making you go to all those meetings, you know
Stop bitching
Stop being a martyr
If you don't like demonstrating
If you don't like visiting prisons
If you don't like speeches
Or going to jail for your beliefs
Then why do you do it?
Nobody's making you
You're free
Go to parties
Go to the beach with your kids
Go to movies
Watch TV
Vote
Make love
Get drunk

Get fucked

It's a free country
Love it or leave it
You love it, don't you?
(ha ha)

— Through The Looking Glass

"JACKSON COUNTY JAIL": A WHITE, MIDDLE CLASS VERSION OF JOANNE LITTLE

The JoAnne Little and Inez Garcia cases have spawned a variety of books and films — some, sincere efforts at dealing with the sensitive issue of rape and a woman's right to self-defense and others disgracefully cheap exploitations of the celebrated North Carolina and California rape-murder cases. *Jackson County Jail*, one of the best publicized of these films, focuses on a young, upper middle class White woman who learns some harsh lessons about American justice after she murders a night jailer who rapes her.

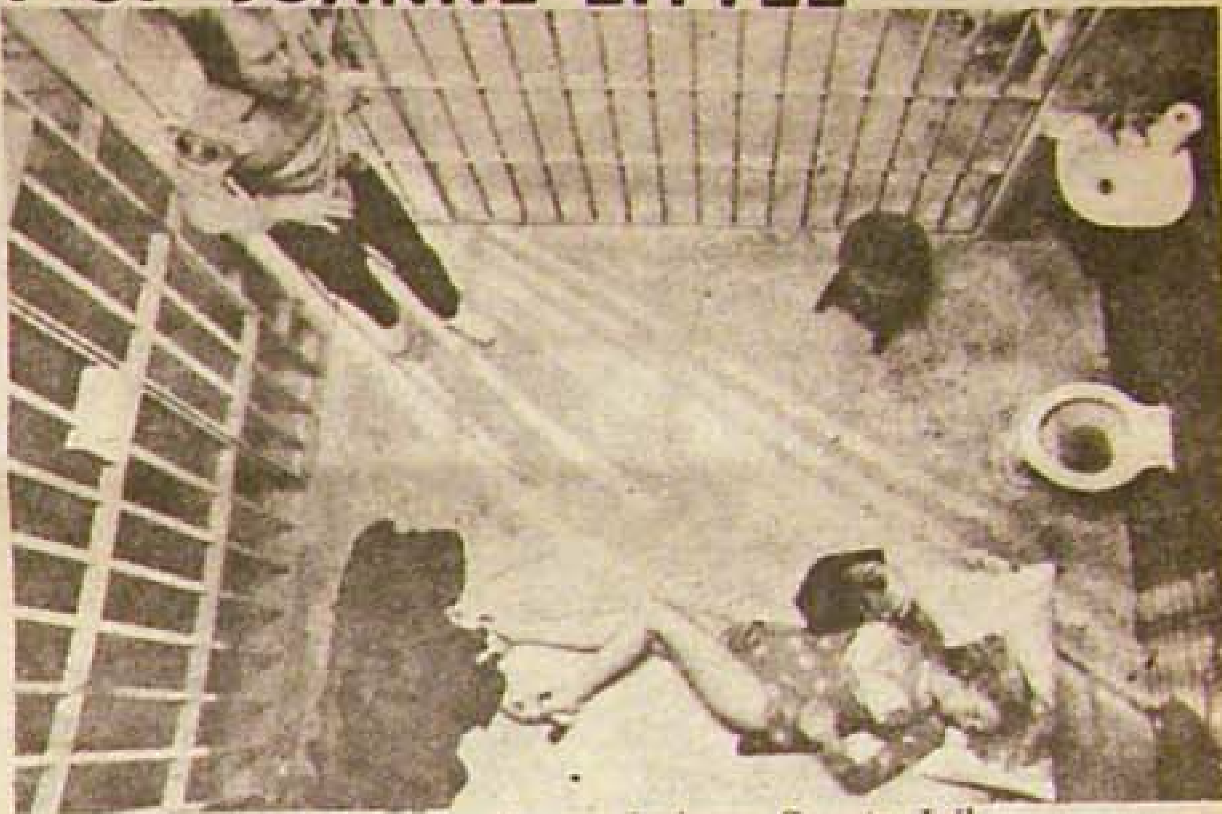
Diane (portrayed by Yvette Mimieux) quits her job in a Los Angeles advertising firm following an argument with her male co-workers over advertising used on women. Returning home to find her lover of two years with another woman, she calls her sister in New York City, asks for and gets an old job back and sets out for the long drive across country.

Diane's kindliness to a hitch-hiking teenage boy and girl proves to be her downfall. The two pull a gun on her, take her money, and leave her unconscious on a roadside in an unidentified, presumably Southern state. Making her way to a dingy bar, she attempts to call the local police for help. While she fights off the lusty advances of the drunken owner, a deputy sheriff arrives on the scene. Angry at Diane's rejection, the bar owner accuses her of assault.

At this point, Diane encounters the beginning of the nightmare to come. She is immediately under suspicion because she has no identification to prove who she is, she's obviously from the city (and not from a Southern city) and she uses profanity. "I'm not going to tell you one more time, lady, don't take the Lord's name in vain," the deputy scolds her. Needless to say, Diane goes to jail.

The sheriff instructs his deputy that they will have to hold Diane until they can prove that "she is who she says she is. There's too many criminals running around. You have to check everybody out," he insists. He reassures Diane that she will be released just as soon as her story checks out.

Holby, the night jailer, who turns out to be mentally deranged and unable to control himself, viciously beats and then rapes Diane. *Jackson County Jail* has been praised because of its portrayal of the violence of rape.



Rape scene from Jackson County Jail.

The rape scene is well done, showing the degradation of the victim and the rapist. While Diane cries in outrage, Holby sobs in shame at his despicable attack. When he attempts to apologize to her, in a flash of bitter rage, Diane grabs a stool in her cell and beats him to death with it.

There is a witness to the killing, a young convicted thief and accused murderer named Blake. He grabs the keys to the cells, freeing himself and Diane — who is still in a state of shock — and together they make their getaway in Holby's pick-up truck. As they speed down the highway, the sheriff passes by and recognizing the truck, starts to pursue them. However, his chase comes to a bloody end when he crashes with another car and both explode in fire.

Blake continues to fly down the road, trying to put as many miles between them and the police as possible. Diane demands that he take her back. "It was self-defense. They'll understand," she naively insists. Blake, looking at her with sympathetic disbelief, reminds her that she has just killed a policeman. "It doesn't matter what he did to you. We're cop killers."

Later, when the two hide in what they believe to be an abandoned house, Diane continues to insist that she must go back, that there are still some honest people in the world and that she believes she can get justice. A scornful Blake replies, "Where do you live, on Mars?" Jolting her out of her middle class dream world, Blake declares that he has never met an honest person. "I'm a thief and I'm proud to be a thief. The whole country's a big

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"The Struggle Of The People Of All Countries Is Our Struggle"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

The logic of putting the problem in such terms is that the majority must suffer because the minority has nowhere to go. It is the sort of argument that Israel uses to justify its expansionism. the British are being very hypocritical about this, showing much pity for the 250,000 Whites who have "nowhere to go," but never showing any for the millions of Blacks who suffered so much from oppression, tortures and massacres. The argument of "nowhere to go" is just another manifestation of racism and class solidarity.

It is similar to the Portuguese government demanding guarantees for Portuguese living here — this means Portuguese Whites, of course. Did Portugal ever guarantee the rights and safety of Blacks living there? Or Blacks living in Portugal, for that matter? Of course not.

In fact, most White Rhodesians would feel much more at their ease in a country where their fellow Whites had never heard the term "independence." They will be happier to have their same status and luxury life, a life of ease and privilege, than to have to face up to equality in the land in which they were "born and bred."

From Mozambique, we expelled only 20-30 Portuguese who were hopelessly compromised. The rest were free to stay and work here, but most have left. Why? They give only vague explanations: "Everyone is leaving, all our friends." The true reason is that they cannot accept the loss of privileges which the color of their skin automatically afforded them.

Q: There are many Mozambican workers in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Should they be regarded as an integral part of the working classes in those countries, capable of being drawn into the fierce class struggles that are bound to develop? Or are there factors which make them a force apart from the mainstream of the political development of those countries?

MACHEL: Obviously, the struggles of the peoples of all countries are our struggles. The struggles of workers of the whole world is our struggle. We live and exist because of such struggles. They are a prerequisite for the life of the people.

Foreign working classes do not remain aloof or neutral, just because they are foreign, from the great struggles that take place in the country where the particular working class has its relations to production, where it earns its wages, where its living conditions are decided. But Mozambican workers will not be the decisive or determining factor for the political and social liberation of South Africa. This has to be done mainly by the South African workers themselves.

Q: What are the essential ingredients for uniting the maximum of forces capable of being united in such countries as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia?

MACHEL: The question of unity is vital and fundamental for every country, especially colonial countries and countries engaged in struggle. Liberation movements waging struggles are aware that success depends on unity. But we have to be clear about what unity means.

UNITY

One, unity is not just a mere statement. Consolidation of unity is realized through struggle. To consolidate unity, struggle must be waged. That is our experience. Struggle to consolidate unity. Struggle to safeguard unity. And what nourishes unity is armed struggle.

Two, unity defines itself afresh at every moment, in every phase of the struggle. Three — and we must stress this — unity does not compromise because a handful of reactionaries, adventurists, ambitious individuals, hold themselves aloof from a united liberation movement.

TO BE CONTINUED



Mozambican rally denouncing racist Rhodesia. White banner reads "Down With Ian Smith."

South African Rebellion Spreads

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

ence" in the "homelands" will be impossible since the government will continued to dominate the economy of the areas.

According to Pacific News Service, a 1974 government survey revealed that the per capita income in the "homelands" is $8 per month—a fraction of the $150 per capita income of South Africans Whites. Therefore, a large part of the Black working adult population will still be forced to commute to work outside of their country."

UNPOPULARITY

One indication of the unpopularity of the Bantusan policy was demonstrated in last week's protests. On August 9, Black students in the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana—one of 10 "homelands" created by the government—attacked the parliament building and burned it to the ground and also destroyed a number of governemt vehicles and police cars.

Meanwhile, the government cracked down on political protests in a new wave of arrests initiated, according to "Minister of Justice" James Kruger, to counter



South African soldier chokes Black protester.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

CARIFESTA

The second Caribben Festival of Creative Arts (CARIFESTA) closed recently in Kingston, Jamaica, reports *Hsinhua* news agency. During CARIFESTA, in which 22 countries and territories of the Caribbean region participated, a mass rally was held at which performances were given depicting struggles of the Caribbean people against colonialism and honoring national heros who died for the liberation of the region.

Mexico

The first national conference of the Worker, Peasant and Popular Insurgent took place in Mexico City recently, reports *Newsfront International*. The conference was brought about as a result of the large demonstrations of November, 1975, and March, 1976, along with the mobilizations of the electrical workers' union.

Chile

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Flannery recently issued a ruling that will result in a $154 million payment to the Anaconda Corporation by the U.S. tax supported Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) for losses the multinational claims to have suffered in Chile in 1971. The Chilean government had ruled that Anaconda was ineligible for compensation for its national copper mines because of fraudulent bookkeeping, improper tax avoidance and excessive profits. Anaconda immediately filed a claim with the OPIC for $195 million worth of insurance payments. If the OPIC award is added to the $253 million payment to the Pinochet dictatorship, Anaconda will have collected more than $407 million on properties it claimed $195 million on in 1971, Rodney Larson of Research Associates International reports.

SPORTS

MARTIAL ARTS

Art Of The Samurai

The art of the samurai, iai jutsu, is largely confined today to martial arts movies and demonstrations. Once, a vicious method of attack, iai jutsu is now an art form which can be used to achieve spiritual development. (With the advent of Western technology. and present social conditions, it would be quite difficult to carry a sword without some type of harassment).

At one time in Japan, the sword and its use were of daily importance, and its application, as a weapon to stay alive, was practical. Today, the practical importance is obsolete yet the art of drawing the sword is still practiced.

To explain the meaning of iai, a distinction should be made. Basically iai has two aspects, the historical iai jutsu and the modern iaido. The different word endings emphasize the change. The word jutsu may be translated as technique or art which refers to a specific pattern using any combat form. The other aspect of iai is for self-development rather than as a training exercise for combat. When considered as a spiritual discipline, the term technique becomes, "way," the iaido has evolved from iai jutsu.

Early iai jutsu schools taught that iai could be used for either attack or defense, in keeping with the principle that swordsmanship can be used as an art for attack or as an art for protection.

Though attack and protection are but two sides to the same thing, the difference lies in the conditions confronting the individual. Depending on which was stressed, techniques were taught from positions of sitting or standing, including overhead or side draws.

The alternative range of draws was limited only by outside considerations, such as being in a confined space and avoiding the direction of an opponent's blade. Iai jutsu worked on the element of surprise. The sword, drawn without warning, often cut down many an opponent who had no chance to react.

U.S. WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS TEAM SOUTH AFRICAN TOUR POSTPONED



South African police brutalize Black students during recent Capetown rebellion. In order to avoid international condemnation, a proposed tour by a U.S. women's gymnastics team was cancelled.

(Montreal, Canada) - In order to avoid a major embarrassment and condemnation throughout independent Black Africa, a South African tour of the U.S. women's gymnastics team was recently cancelled.

In the wake of the near total withdrawal of Black African nations from the 1976 Montreal Olympics — in protest against New Zealand's rugby team tour of South Africa in the aftermath of the June, Soweto rebellion and later participation in the Games — the trip was postponed by the United States Gymnastics Federation. The Federation admitted that it had been sponsoring such tours for several years but American officials at the Olympics felt that such a trip would be disruptive at this time.

EXCUSE

The excuse the Federation gave to the press was that the trip to racist South Africa could not be made because qualified coaches could not be found. The Federation, which governs gymnatics in the U.S., lied by saying that no political pressure had forced the change in its plans and that no women on the U.S. Olympics team had been included anyway.

"We can't put it together without a coach," claimed Frank Bare, executive director of the Federation. "The girls were supposed to leave tomorrow," he said, "but it's just too hectic. I don't know when we can reschedule it."

STATEMENT

In a statement which belies the reality of U.S. policy toward Black Africa, Bare remarked that, "No one has called to put pressure on us. We have been talking to the State Department," he revealed, "but their policy is hands off."

Bare also implied, as he continued to avoid the real issue of a U.S. team competing in the apartheid state, that the trip might or might not take place at all this year. The U.S. men's and women's gymnastic teams are to tour China this month, he said, while a Rumanian team is to visit the U.S. in October.

The whole question of the urprecedented Olympics African boycott centered around the South African tour of a New Zealand Black rugby team and led to 27 African and Third World nations walking out of the Olympics. Such established international sports stars as Filbert Bayi of Tanzania and Mike Boit of Kenya were noticeably absent. □

Congratulations, Fred Morehead And O.C.L.C.

(San Jose, Calif.) - At the recent Santa Clara County Karate Championship held here at Prospect High School, FRED MOREHEAD, a participant in the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) Martial Arts Program, won a third-place trophy in the lightweight black belt division.

Young Morehead, who has only a red belt ranking, was also a member, along with students from Bill Owens' Martial Arts School, of the winning team in the tourney's team matches. Congratulations to Fred and the OCLC Martial Arts Program!





BPINS photos

For The "Movement"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

The principle of permanent struggle in the cause of justice goes back, in this nation, to the women organizers of the Massachusetts mills, to Emma Goldman, Big Bill Haywood, Woodie Guthrie and Joe Hill — and, in an earlier era, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Theodore Parker, Garrison, Thoreau. It is essential that we do not let the television networks, textbook corporations or the daily press deny us our real heritage of struggle and revolt.

A second point is that the reckless statement heard so often nowadays, that "kids are quiet in all sections of the nation," is, in literal terms, not so.

I have visited and talked at length with kids, at something like 200 colleges and high schools in the last five years. In some cases, students are supporting the farm workers. In others, they are fighting for the rights of women. In others still, they stand up in support of ethical teachers who have been improperly suspended or expelled.

The truth is not that students are less active than they were in 1964. The truth is — they are far more active, but in battles far less grandiose and less flamboyant.

PRESS MAKES TRUTH

This leads to one final point: To a large degree, the press not only tells about the truth, but also makes it so. If television keeps saying that the kids are "quiet" now, thousands of students start to say, "I guess it must be so." If *Time* devotes a cover story, as they did a few years back, to something they designate "The Cooling of America," thousands of students respond, understandably, by saying to each other: "Well, I guess we must be cooling down."

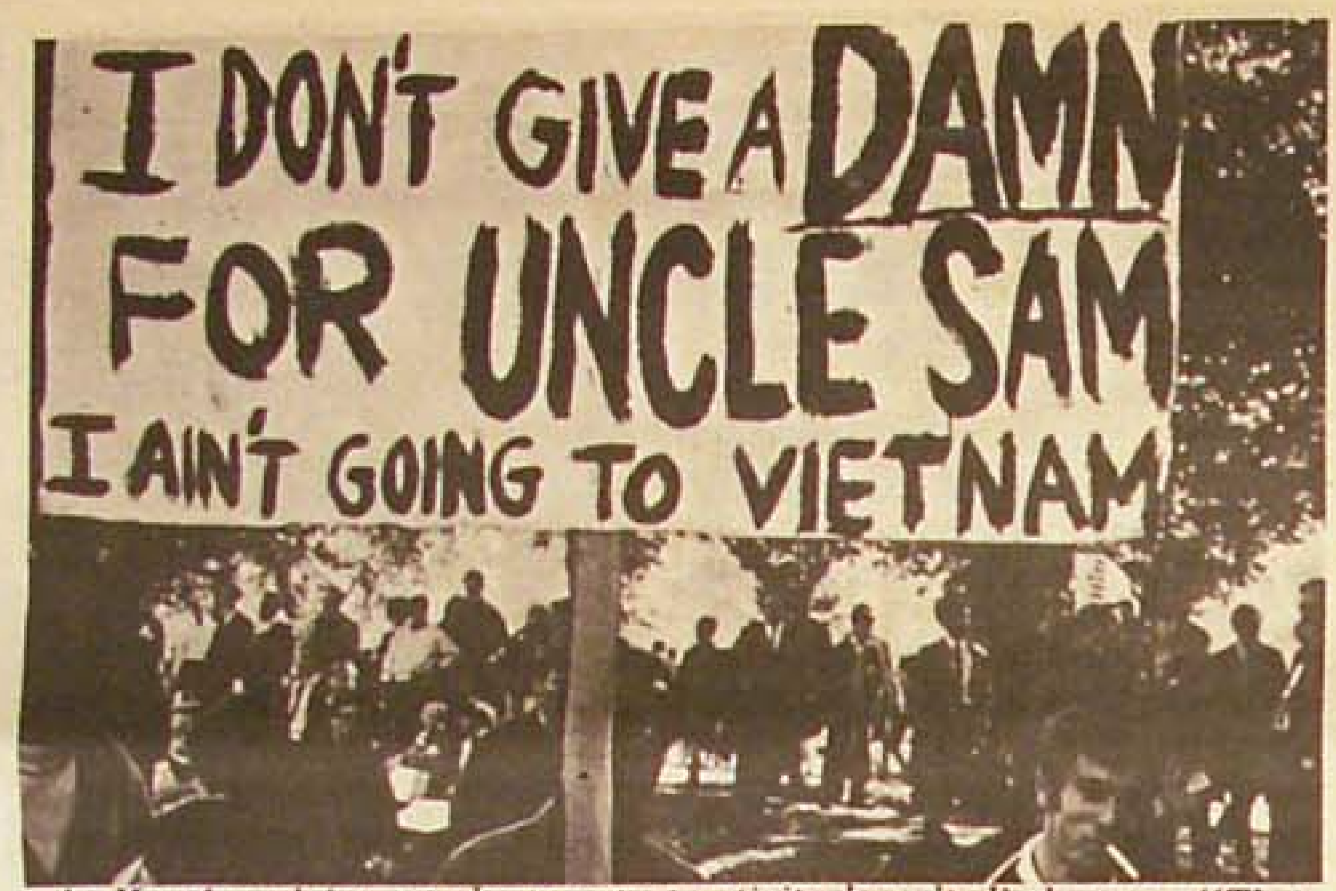
The point is that it isn't true unless we want it to be true. If the editors of *Time* attempt to tell us things are "cooling down," it's in our power to "heat things up" — and prove it isn't so.

The student scene (the "mood on campus," as reporters like to say) isn't something long ago and far away, congealed in heaven and decided on television. Editors in New York don't know any more about the "student scene" than do the squirrels in New Hampshire. The only people anywhere who know the student scene are those who are the student scene.

History is not something that is done to you or me. History is made by men and women. It will be changed by men and women too, if it is ever changed at all. If there is a battle to be fought against racism, hunger, war and sickness and exploitation of the poor, it is a battle which depends upon the solidarity of young and old, of Black and Brown and White, of rebel rich and devastated poor, right here and now in our own hour, in our own nation, by our own energy, exhilaration — and our nerve.

We can be exiles from the transformation of an unjust social order, or we can step forward in the vanguard of an army of nonviolent rebellion. The choice does not belong to men and women who create the news and cut the tapes of CBS and NBC.

The choice belongs to you and me. □



As Kozol explains, student protest activity hasn't died away, "They are far more active, but in battles far less grandiose and less flamboyant."

Behind The Smile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

prove they're pro-Israeli by repeating it over and over. "How many times do I have to say it?" they complain. But "we get the Christians" — I never heard that frame of electoral reference before.

Carter had to leave for a fundraising reception with trucking executives. They were looking for "reassurance" about freight regulations "when I am President." He was ready to satisfy them, "as little as I have to." He would promise to eliminate backhaul rules.

MATTER OF FACTLY

Then Carter, very matter of factly, added: "I'll tell them that I oppose the diversion of the highway trust fund to mass transit." Eizenstat, quietly, diffidently: "You can't do that; you're already on record as favoring it." Carter glared. He stood up. A long pause, then he replied with measured impatience: "All right, maybe that's what I've said, but I think all this mass transit isn't a very good idea. I don't see why highway users should pay for subways. I think the money should be for highways." Another pause; he moved toward the door, then stopped. At least he could pledge "full completion and maintenance" of the interstate system "above any other objective."

Carter left. He had never smiled once in the meeting. The people around him appeared to be intimidated, cowed, afraid to talk back, even to correct a factual error.

My disquiet deepened at lunch with members of Carter's issues staff. I raised the military budget. The subject obviously touched a sore spot; the answer tumbled out in weary, discouraged rhythms. "We have a real problem being specific about cuts. Jimmy doesn't want to talk about military cuts at all. We gave him a solid document which Brzezinski (Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia, one of Carter's earliest supporters) helped put together. Jimmy sent it back with a note saying: 'Nothing more on defense.' " Why? "Nitze (Paul Nitze, former Defense Department official and hardline critic of detente) told Jimmy that the military budget might have to go up maybe $20 or $30 billion. Brzezinski thinks Jimmy shouldn't listen to that. Nitze says everything will be all right once Jimmy becomes President and talks to the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Carter is on record as favoring a 5 to 7 per cent reduction of defense spending. The pledge has brought some important liberals to his campaign. The possibility of another technical truth: Carter has never identified the base figure for the cuts; as President, he could cut 5 to 7 per cent from the Ford trendline budget for 1978. Spending could rise by billions, but Carter could insist he kept his word. Not the spirit perhaps, but the words.

TO BE CONTINUED

Juvenile Facility

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

cells had driven a youth to attempt suicide the day before.

Ericka and the OCS staff were shown the gymnasium of the facility which includes two broken down ping pong tables and two dirty mats. Officials said that the boys periodically use the gym to do push-ups, play ping pong and other noncontact sports. The youth, however, denied this.

Cells in the JPD are sparsely furnished, containing only one or two beds. The cell windows have bars over them, similar to those found in adult prisons. Officials explained that TVs have been placed in some cells to monitor those youth considered to have severe mental, emotional or sexual problems. Boys with any of these problems may be placed in isolation.

Following their tour, Ericka and the OCS staff met briefly with



BPINS photo

ERICKA HUGGINS

staff members of the Family Crisis Intervention Unit (FCIU). They explained that their primary purpose is to work with the families of the youth in order to solve their problems.

Under Assembly Bill #2947, introduced by Assemblyman Hart on February 2 of this year — and amended five times since then — the county superintendent of schools, with the approval of the county board of education, would be empowered to operate schools or classes in any juvenile hall, home, day center, ranch or camp. Hopefully, this legislation will be passed, allowing the Alameda County Board of Education — and county education boards throughout the state — to insure that youth held in juvenile detention centers such as the JPD will receive the quality education to which they are entitled. □

White Panther Raid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

files or records. This issue will be discussed at a future meeting.

WPP members and supporters urged the SFHRC to gather enough data to change Mayor Moscone's mind concerning the need for an investigation of the police attack on the progressive White community organization.

Discussion focused on a sworn affidavit by San Francisco Police Department officer Travis Arthur Tapia, a member of the department's Community Relations Unit. Tapia testified that several days after the Cole Street raid, he spoke to an Officer Ray Carlson, who was assigned to the Haight-Ashbury area at the time of the WPP incident. Tapia said that he had heard rumors that Captain Jeremiah Taylor, supervising captain of police, had stated over the police communications network that police should let the WPP headquarters burn, or "let the son of a bitch burn." Carlson confirmed Taylor's statement.

Speaking briefly on the issue, Chief Gaines said that he saw no need to meet with the Commission's Police Liaison Committee and that the matter should go directly to the Police Commission. The matter was scheduled for discussion at the Police Commission's meeting this week.☐

Richmond Committee Against Police Abuse

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

of Richmond," McCollins said, "the police rule in an atmosphere of fear."

After some discussion, Rev. James King, Jr., pastor of Easter Hill Methodist Church, called for the formation of a committee which will begin to organize the necessary forces to deal with police brutality in Richmond.

Some of the points which will be discussed in the first committee meeting, scheduled for Friday, August 20, at 7:30 p.m. at Easter Hill Methodist Church, 39th and Cutting, are: (1) Rallying community support to demand the dismissal of Breuner; (2) Rallying support for Donyale McCollins in her upcoming trial; (3) The formation of a legal defense fund and raising funds for the legal expense of the McCollins' family; and (4) The organizing of a mass meeting to be scheduled at a later date.☐

Letters to the Editor

PRISON NEWSLETTER

To: THE BLACK PANTHER
Prisoners' Solidarity Collective
Communique #1

Recently, in the Maryland (Md.) Penitentiary, a multiracial group of men came together around the issue of survival in the Md. Pen. And it was decided that many of the situations which develop here are mainly because of little or no communications between us here and the community out there.

Understanding that most, if not all of the information that reaches the community about conditions or situations in the Md. Pen is largely controlled or directed by the officials who control the Pen; in most cases this information is one-sided and greatly falsified by those officials — we need a voice. We have decided to take this task upon ourselves.

At this time we are developing a mailing list and gathering information or the conditions that exist here and the situations that develop here. We wish to pass this information on to the local groups, organizations, newspapers, and concerned people of our communities.

As we are a new group, dealing with many types of people — we would first ask each recipient of this introductory letter to bear with us. And those who may be willing to aid us — by any efforts whatsoever, to contact the following named people who are housed in the Pen: Warren Nelson, Roger Abney, David Murray, Marshal Conway, Daniel Lightfoot, Jake Hubbard, Jerome Green, or Jack Johnson.

Those who can't or will not help us at this point, we only ask that you receive our bi-week communiques, and of course, those who have no concern in this area, we would hope that you would inform us so that we can remove you from our mailing list, as stamps are hard to come by here in the Pen.

The development of better communications between us and our communities would allow us to take other courses of action which are not open to us at present. At the same time, we hope that the exposure of crimes committed by officials here will force them to correct those wrongdoings and deal with us on a more human basis.

As it stands now, murders, beatings, and general harassment is the order of the day. How we are forced to survive now — today — will be the basis of how we survive when we return to your/our communities. The aid you give us in the near future will be aid for you and us.

Following is a small summary of events that occurred here from July 1 to July 20. Although this covers only a small period of time, to us this is a reoccurring situation which we have lived under for years. The effects are enormous, and the reaction for us (the Pen and the Community) will be unthinkable. These things can and must be corrected. We ask now, only for your support — a letter in your local newspaper — or contact us for further information.

Incidents:

•On July 1, Bro. Jesse Clark was beaten and hospitalized by officers while housed in the segregation wing. A suit has been filed in federal court on the brother's behalf.

•On July 2, Bro. Calvin Thomas was beaten and hospitalized by Officers Mister and Ford, along with Sgt. Rollins. This brother was beaten again while in the hospital by other officers. He remains in the hospital as of this writing.

•On July 10, Bro. Roland Anderson was assaulted by Sgt. Libertine. He was later given 6 months on segregation for a charge resulting out of the incident.

•On July 11, Bro. Jake Bracy was assaulted in the yard by officers, and later denied treatment for a seizure in a manner which caused him to burn himself and his cell up.

•On July 13, Ernest Brunt was attacked and beaten in the segregation wing of officer Green and Sgt. Stanton and was later taken to University Hospital.

•On July 15, the entire population was subjected to abuses and general harassment by officers from all over the state because of two brother's failure to make the count.

•As you can see, the situation here is a very serious one. We are the continual victims of attacks and harassment from the officials who are in charge with the operating of the Pen. The only way we can bring a halt to these acts is with the aid of you — our community.

If you are interested in offering us any aid in our continuing struggle for survival, please contact us as soon as possible.

Strength/Solidarity in Struggle
Jack Johnson
Prisoners' Solidarity Collective
Maryland Penitentiary

CAPITALISM CONDEMNED

Dear Editor,

I am not a politician or scholar of political science, I'm just a woman. But I have something to say.

I was reading the article about the Caribbean nations beginning to reject capitalism and I was struck by what Guyana's prime minister said, "Capitalism has failed us." Of course!! it was never meant to do anything but fail, at the very least, all poor and oppressed, unfortunate, uneducated people.

The capitalist ethic was put forth on an unforgettable and global level when this very land was wrenched by force from the hands of its owners. It was put forth when another people were kidnapped from their land to do all the work around here and do it for free. And anyone who becomes bereft and poor by capitalism will be kept that way by the same.

Patricia Morgan
Seattle, Wash. 98122

F.B.I. Hierarchy Shake-Up

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Although late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover ordered illegal burglaries of so-called subversive groups ended in 1966, such burglaries continued as late as last month.

Earlier in the week, in an appearance on CBS-TV's *Face the Nation*, Kelley said that officials within the FBI had intentionally deceived him into believing that "black bag" jobs had ended in 1966. He said he did not know who was at fault in the deception but that he would take "some action" if he finds out.

AUTHORITARIAN METHODS

The FBI director placed some of the blame on FBI abuses on those employees who still prefer the "authoritarian" methods of Hoover. "Some cling to the idea that you can do anything you want so long as you follow certain ideals that were imbedded in them throughout the many years of the leadership of Mr. Hoover," Kelley said. Careful not to openly criticize Hoover, Kelley referred to his predecessor's rule as "an authoritarian type of administration."

Prior to Kelley's television appearance, Manhattan U.S. District Court Judge Thomas P. Griesa ruled that the Bureau had provided "false" information regarding a "crucial" aspect of the SWP lawsuit. Griesa charged that the FBI had deliberately failed to disclose that one of its informants, Timothy Redfearn, had obtained some SWP material by burglarizing the party's Denver's office.

On *Face the Nation*, Kelley said he was "very distressed" to learn about this withholding of evidence and that the matter "smacks of a cover-up."☐

SAN ANTONIO TENANTS' UNION PICKETS H.U.D.

AUGUST 12, 1976

A



B



(A & B) Residents of San Antonio Villa suprised HUD (Housing and Urban Development) officials in San Francisco with a spirited picket line as they pressed their demands for decent housing.

C



D



E



(C) San Antonio Tenants' Union co-president ***BESSIE THOMAS*** *forcefully describes the indecent housing conditions of San Antonio Villa. (D) Two young participants in the S.F. demonstration happily display bags of groceries received from BPP Free Food Program. (E) Demonstrators carry sign of San Antonio's shamefully deficient ''Recreation Center.''*

F



G



BPNS photos

(F) Black Panther Party chairperson ***ELAINE BROWN*** *enthusiastically joined the picket line in front of HUD offices. (G) After a long day of demonstrating for decent housing, San Antonio residents received free bags of groceries from Black Panther Party members, courtesy of the Free Food Program.*